



## ***Daily Report***

# **Sub-Saharan Africa**

FBIS-AFR-91-237  
Tuesday  
10 December 1991

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## Cameroon

### Oppositionist Ntoumaza Returns After 30-Year Exile

AB0612144391 London BBC World Service in English  
1515 GMT 5 Dec 91

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] Veteran Cameroon exiled opposition politician, Nde Ntoumaza, came home today after 30 years in exile. He is a leader of the UPC [Cameroon People's Union] party and it seems that he will have a lot of work to do. The opposition in Cameroon, still at loggerheads with the government over the country's political future, is in disarray and Mr. Ntoumaza's own UPC is bedeviled by internal differences. But his reception, when he finally set foot on Cameroon soil, was jubilant as Herbert Bo reports in this fax from Douala:

[Begin studio announcer recording] Mr. Nde Ntoumaza arrived home today to an emotional and tumultuous welcome by friends, relatives, and enthusiastic flag-waving party militants. Wearing a wide smile, Mr. Ntoumaza fought through the tight UPC security at Douala International Airport, flashing victory signs and waving to the cheering crowd.

In a written statement handed to the press of the airport, Mr. Ntoumaza stated that despite 30 years of forced exile and the assassination of all his companions, he had returned home, ready to fight from today through the UPC party which, he insists, must be united if it is to fully satisfy the aspirations of the Cameroonian people.

His statement echoed the now widespread call of most of opposition groups for a sovereign national conference.

Mr. Ntoumaza's first and most important task will be to unite the UPC which has been badly fragmented by internal wrangling since its relegalization earlier this year.

The party's various factions were at the airport this morning fighting like babies over trifles such as who should carry Ntoumaza's luggage, who should take him in his car, in whose house he should stay the night, and so forth. In the end, an exasperated Ntoumaza remarked: If they cannot even organize a simple airport reception, how do they expect to lead Cameroon?

Mr. Ntoumaza is determined to provide the UPC with a new kind of leadership and was quick to dismiss allegations that his role will be mostly to implant the UPC in English-speaking Cameroon. He insists that the UPC must hold only one congress, not two as are currently being planned by the leaders of the rival factions.

He also dismissed as complete nonsense President Biya's insistence to hold early legislative elections next year. In addition, Mr. Ntoumaza failed to join the demand being made by English-speaking politicians for an immediate return to federalism. Instead, he insisted that that power will remain with the central government after the election.

Mr. Ntoumaza's long exile was a symbol of [former president] Ahidjo's repression of democratic forces. But now his return home, guaranteed by President Biya's government, is in danger of being used as a propaganda event. Mr. Ntoumaza is anxious to prove that his return amounts to much more than that. [end recording]

## Congo

### Government To Continue Expulsion of Zairians

AB1012112091 Paris AFP in French 1001 GMT  
9 Dec 91

[Text] Brazzaville, 9 Dec (AFP)—The expulsion of Zairian citizens, which was decided upon in November by the Congolese Government, will continue "imperturbably," announced an official government communique issued in Brazzaville today. "The expulsions will be pursued in due respect for dignity," the Congolese Government communique added, stressing that legal Zairian residents could remain in Congo for as long as they "liked." The government communique added that the expulsions would affect only "illegal" Zairian "residents, illicit traffickers, and robbers."

Colonel Jean Assolan, director of the Congolese Air and Border Police stated recently that Congo had 1 million Zairians on its territory and that 75 percent of these would be expelled by 30 November. According to a police source, more than 40,000 Zairians have already been expelled from Congo.

The Congolese Government's communique indirectly criticized President Denis Sassou-Nguesso and the former head of state, General Joachim Yhombi Opango, who had disapproved of the measures. "Illegal" Zairian "residents should not be defended by Congolese political figures," the statement emphasized, adding that President Sassou-Nguesso was informed about the expulsions.

This statement, observers in Brazzaville point out, is the first reaction of the Congolese Government to the Zairian authorities who on Thursday, 5 December, called on Congo to postpone the implementation of the expulsion measures, and proposed an emergency meeting of the two countries' joint commission on security.

### Demonstrators Protest Economic Situation

AB0612124191 London BBC World Service in English  
1515 GMT 5 Dec 91

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] One of the effects of the dire state of the economy of Congo—Brazzaville—is growing discontent in the civil service over low salaries and failure to pay them,



and the rapidly growing army of unemployed. Perhaps the most disgruntled among the jobless are the graduates. Today 300 of them voiced their disaffection by laying siege to the Ministry of Labor in Brazzaville. From there Antoine Muyumbala telexed us this report:

[Begin studio announcer recording] The demonstrators, who threw stones at the ministry, were dispersed by the guards of Labor Minister Francois Guimby, and by the security forces. They fired shots in the air and used tear gas against the demonstrators but there were no casualties. In the confusion, the minister himself was forced to leave the premises in his car, the rear window of which was damaged. The ministry officials also fled from their offices.

The demonstrators are among 2,500 young people, who have left universities and vocational training schools, who have been waiting in some cases for up to five years to get jobs in the public service. The state is the main employer in the Congo.

The Congolese Government has decided to suspend recruitment into the public service because of the economic crisis which has swept the country. The government is now planning to reduce the public service staff from the current 80,000 employees to 55,000. The reduction is due to be carried out over a period of five years.

Monthly salaries in the public sector are of the order of 13,000 million CFA francs but in the past few months the government has only had revenues of around 4,000 million CFA francs. So, payment of public service salaries has been delayed. In general, they are paid one month in every three.

So far, the situation seems to have been tolerated by public servants apart from the Free Union of Congolese Teachers, SLEC, which has demanded two months' back payment of salaries. The union called for a strike as from today but the strike call was not heeded. Schools in Brazzaville were opened today. A rival union to SLEC, the Federation of Science, Sports, Education, Information and Cultural Workers decided to boycott the strike. [end recording]

#### **Oil, Mining Cooperation With Israel Considered**

AB0912215091 Paris AFP in English 2006 GMT  
7 Dec 91

[Text] Brazzaville, Dec 7 (AFP)—The Congolese Government is planning to cooperate with Israel in the

mining and oil sectors, officials said here Saturday. Israel will train staff in the two fields, according to the minutes of a meeting of Congolese and Israeli officials.

Cooperation in the farming sector was also discussed by a 10-member Israeli delegation which arrived Monday.

Israel and Congo signed a general cooperation agreement last August after the two countries resumed diplomatic relations, which were severed in the wake of the 1973 Israeli-Arab war.

### **Zaire**

#### **Prime Minister Nguza Travels to France, U.S.**

AB0912195591 Paris AFP in French 1323 GMT  
9 Dec 91

[Text] Paris, 9 Dec (AFP)—Zairian Prime Minister Nguza Karl-I-Bond today started a tour of several Western countries to have his first contact with the authorities of these countries since his appointment on 25 November.

Mr. Nguza Karl-I-Bond is expected to meet this afternoon with the director of African and Malagasy affairs at the French Foreign Ministry, Paul Dijoud, in the absence of Foreign Minister Roland Dumas, who is at the European summit in Maastricht, and Cooperation Minister Edwige Avice, who is on a visit to Benin.

France still wants "the implementation of a democratic process that should end in elections and enable the country to take off again," the deputy spokesman of the Quai d'Orsay, Maurice Gourdault-Montagne, stated today. "Those are France's wishes concerning this country," he added, saying that it was up to Zairians to "make the necessary decisions."

When Mr. Nguza Karl-I-Bond was appointed prime minister, France expressed the hope that it "would enable the resumption of dialogue among the parties" "and the creation of a democratic transition."

On 25 October, Paris decided "to interrupt" its cooperation with Zaire and repatriated French nationals in the country.

After Paris, Mr. Nguza Karl-I-Bond is expected to visit the United States, Canada, and Belgium.

## Djibouti

### 'Opposition Spokesman' Interviewed on Fighting

PM1012111891 London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT  
in Arabic 7 Dec 91 p 7

[Telephone interview with "Dr. Abati, Djibouti opposition spokesman," in Djibouti by Sayyid Ahmad Khalifah in Jeddah, date not given]

[Excerpts] [Khalifah] Dr. Abati, how do you view the situation in the areas of fighting in the North a week after the cease-fire?

[Abati] The situation there is serious. The fighting resumed at the end of the week that we set for the cease-fire. The food situation in Ubikh and Tadjoura is bad, and so is the health situation. Nearly three weeks have elapsed but no food supplies have been sent to the area. [passage omitted]

[Khalifah] Have any negotiations or contacts been held between you and the government following the recent French mediation?

[Abati] The government does not acknowledge any internal opposition. It says that the fighting in the North is being waged by foreign elements. This is why there have been no contacts between us.

[Abati] What evidence do you have that those fighting in the North are not foreigners, as the government says in the documents that it has presented to the public?

[Abati] Four well known Djibouti strugglers are among the detainees in the areas of conflict. One of them is the cousin of the Djibouti parliament speaker. Another is a known member of the human rights committee here. As for the documents presented by the government, they concern Ethiopians detained when Mengistu's army collapsed and some of its elements turned to Djibouti. It falsified these documents.

[Khalifah] Are you an Afar-tribal opposition or a Djibouti opposition which includes non-Afars as well?

[Abati] We are a national opposition which includes Issas, Afars, and Arabs. This national representation exists also among the fighters now. The most prominent opposition leaders belong to the Issas. They are Adam Rubili, 'Umar 'Alami, and other Somali Issas. They are true Djiboutians, not visiting foreigners [wafidin] like some present officials.

[Khalifah] Do you believe that unpatriotic foreigners rule Djibouti now?

[Abati] Yes, including President Gouled himself, the foreign minister, Vice President Isma'il 'Umar, and the interior minister. All these, in addition to other ministers and deputies, came from outside Djibouti not so long ago and acceded to power with France's help. [passage omitted]

[Khalifah] France has decided to deploy forces on the borders with Ethiopia. Will you continue the fighting, not fearing France's military presence and the possibility of its intervention against you if its forces suffer losses or injuries?

[Abati] We agree to the deployment of French forces on the borders with Ethiopia. We are not fighting from outside, nor do our forces come from Ethiopia or anywhere else. This will be proved after the deployment of the French forces, whose task we hope will be just to monitor the borders, not to fight alongside government forces. [passage omitted]

[Khalifah] What is your ultimate aim, and how do you visualize a solution to Djibouti's problems?

[Abati] Our basic aim is to topple this government and establish a democratic pluralist system. Our methods are political and military action, and also dialogue if the other side agrees to it. It is an option which, of course, we urge, welcome, and prefer.

## Ethiopia

### Council of Representatives Discuss Defense

EA0512213591 Addis Ababa Voice of Ethiopia  
in English to Neighboring Countries 1530 GMT  
5 Dec 91

[Text] The 25th regular meeting of the Council of Representatives of the Ethiopian Transitional Government has opened in Addis Ababa with a discussion on the preliminary draft proclamation on defense and security submitted to it by the Defense and Security Committee. The draft proclamation was based on the defense and security policies of the Transitional Government of Ethiopia issued following a discussion of the seventh regular meeting of the council held last August.

It said the principles of the defense and security structure of the Transitional Government should be competent but limited defense, (?one) that would replace the old one which it said was used to advance aggressive attitudes. Accordingly, the draft proclamation stressed that reactivating the defense force of the old defunct regime was unnecessary and undesirable because it was tantamount to allowing the resurgence of the (?incompatible) condition that took great sacrifices to remove. The draft said the present security responsibilities were not restricted to the control of the government but also enabled regional and local administrations to assume a share of their duties in the field by being armed themselves.

The policy guideline said, nationally, the force of the EPRDF [Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front] would be the force of the Transitional Government of Ethiopia and would defend the independence and sovereignty of the country.

**Country Divided Into 14 Administrative Districts***AB0912212091 Paris AFP in English 2048 GMT  
9 Dec 91*

[Text] Addis Ababa, Dec 9 (AFP)—Ethiopia's transitional authorities have divided the country into 14 new administrative districts in order to decentralise power and increase the autonomy of the country's various communities, Ethiopian national radio reported.

The regional administrations will each elect their own parliament and make their own decisions on regional legislation, on official languages, and on internal security, leaving national defence and foreign affairs to the central authority, the radio said.

President Meles Zenawi, leader of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) which seized power in Addis Ababa last May, promised earlier this year to establish a federal form of government to increase regional autonomy. The authorities in the new regional entities will be able to make decisions in the economic and social sectors.

In addition to defence and foreign affairs, the printing of money and the granting of citizenship will remain the prerogative of the central authority.

The territorial outlines of the new administrations have not yet been made public, but the radio said that two of them would be formed by the cities Addis Ababa, the capital, and Harer, in the east of the country.

Given that there are around 80 main ethnic groups in the country, several ethnic communities will be required to cohabit within most of the new regions.

The authorities in Addis Ababa have announced a new economic programme inclined towards free market policies, offering guarantees for national and foreign investors in order to attract private investment.

**Eritrea Reportedly Releases 500 Prisoners***EA0912202291 Asmera Voice of the Broad Masses  
of Eritrea in Amharic 1630 GMT 7 Dec 91*

[Text] It has been announced that the Eritrean provisional government has released 500 prisoners who were arrested for engagement in antipeople and spying activities. This was stated by Mr. Petros Solomon, secretary of the Department of Internal Affairs, in his press statement released this morning. He noted that the Eritrean provisional government periodically has freed many prisoners accused of the same offenses.

[Paris AFP in English at 1929 GMT on 9 December in a Nairobi-dated report cites a 7 December Eritrean radio report on a release of 500 prisoners and says,

"According to the radio, the prisoners were freed after they were pardoned by the Eritrean leader Isayas Afewerki."]

**\* EPLF Official Discusses Relations With Egypt***92AE0066A Doha AL-SHARQ in Arabic 10 Oct 91 p 5*

[Article by Yusuf al-Sharif]

[Text] A responsible source in the Eritrean Popular Liberation Front (EPLF) told AL-SHARQ that Egypt welcomed the Front's position not to declare independence immediately upon taking over the Eritrean capital of Asmara last May 24. Egypt approved of the Front's postponing this historic declaration until it could be coordinated and agreed upon with allied Ethiopian troops that took power from the previous regime.

He said that meetings and consultations had taken place between officials of the Front and Egyptian officials. What they heard from them affirmed Egypt's determination to support the agreements and joint positions between the EPLF and the new regime in Ethiopia, lest the Egyptian position be understood as an attempt, on its part, to encourage the separatist forces in Africa and thwart the charter of the Organization of African Unity, which sanctions the inherited borders of the states following the departure of Western imperialism from the continent.

The Eritrean source, who made a short diplomatic visit to Cairo this week, said: "The Front is not trying to get ahead of events, since, in spite of its complete control of Eritrean region, and relations of coordination and alliance that link it to the new regime in Ethiopia, it has declined to declare Eritrean independence before this national, legitimate step is put to a popular referendum on the right to self-determination for the people of Eritrea, and before the Ethiopian Government voluntarily submits an official request to the United Nations, so as to do its duty towards organizing a referendum on independence so that it might have international legitimacy, especially since the Supreme Consultative Council in Ethiopia has announced that it agrees to the independence and the referendum."

Regarding what has been said about the United States' disapproval of Eritrean independence, the Eritrean source said that the true nature of Washington's position is not understood, for during discussions that took place between the Front's delegation and the Ethiopian delegation, both in Atlanta in the United States under former President Jimmy Carter's auspices; and in London under the auspices of the American State Department, the position was absolutely clear that independence was inevitable since the Eritreans had not laid down their arms for more than 30 years.



### SACP's Cronin Predicts No Split With ANC

MB0412140791 Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY  
in English 4 Dec 91 p 2

[Report by Tim Cohen: "SACP [South African Communist Party], ANC [African National Congress] will not split now or in future—Cronin"]

[Text] SA [South Africa] Communist Party [SACP] central committee member Jeremy Cronin yesterday predicted there would not be a split between the party and the ANC [African National Congress], even in the long term.

Speaking in an interview on the eve of the SACP's eighth congress, Cronin said he would venture that a split between the SACP and the ANC in the long term was neither inevitable nor necessary.

There was no prospect of a split in the short term, he said.

Cronin said the SACP's draft manifesto, which will be one of the major focuses of the four-day conference, stated that change in SA would not be complete without socialism.

"To deepen and defend national democratic change...socialism enters into the picture. At such a time it will be possible and necessary to persuade the overwhelming number of ANC members to move in that direction.

"Whether we will merge with the ANC or whether there will be a compact of forces, one does not really know, but as a relatively small party we cannot make the socialist revolution alone."

The congress, the SACP's first inside SA for 40 years, will give the majority of the SACP's newly acquired 23,000 members their first opportunity of electing leaders.

According to nominations received from SACP branches, the frontrunners for the top SACP post of general secretary include Numsa [National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa] general secretary Moses Mayekiso, Cosatu [Congress of South African Trade Unions] assistant general secretary Sidney Mafumadi, SACP national organiser Charles Nqakula and central committee member Chris Hani.

Hani has already indicated he will not stand for the post, although he would accept nomination to the central committee.

Frontrunner for national chairman is current SACP general secretary and de facto leader Joe Slovo, while central committee member Raymond Mhlaba has been nominated Slovo's deputy chairman.

Figures released by the party indicate its strongest support comes from the Border region which will send 94 delegates.

### Reportage on SACP Congress; Elections; Closing

#### Prospective Candidates Viewed

MB0612074891 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
0006 GMT 6 Dec 91

[Text] Johannesburg Dec 5 SAPA—The results of a secret ballot for the South African Communist Party's [SACP] senior leadership are expected by midday Saturday, election officer Kadar Asmal said on the first day of the SACP's eighth national congress.

Central Committee election results were expected later, as they would be held second.

With the withdrawal from the elections for the top posts by SACP General-Secretary Joe Slovo, and popular Central Committee member Chris Hani, plus the likely standing down of Party Chairman Dan Tloome, the contest is considered wide open.

The chairman of the SACP's interim leadership group, Raymond Mhlaba, is considered though to be the front runner at this stage for the post of general secretary.

Mr Slovo, who is working almost fulltime at the African National Congress' [ANC] head office in Johannesburg, is expected to be elected to a less demanding position, possibly that of party chairman.

Mr Hani, chief of staff of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto We Sizwe [ANC military wing—Spear of the Nation], has said he will stand for re-election to the SACP Central Committee.

"Nominations close on Friday afternoon and voting takes place on Saturday morning," Mr Asmal told SAPA on Thursday at the congress venue outside Johannesburg.

Mr Asmal, a member of the the ANC's National Executive Committee, is heading an election commission which has been brought in to conduct the secret ballot.

A final decision has still to be taken by delegates on what senior positions the party will have. This is expected to be resolved in the commission on the adoption of a new party constitution, which began at the congress on Thursday evening.

It has been proposed that the SACP leadership will consist of a general secretary, national chairman, two deputy national chairmen, and a treasurer.

The Central Committee will most probably have 30 members, and not 25 as proposed earlier.

"It's quite clear there'll be contests for the posts," Mr Asmal said. "We have already in excess of the 25 or 30 figure.

"It appears to me that the officers will be known by midday on Saturday at the latest," Mr Asmal said.

**Hani 'Unopposed' for General Secretary***MB0612140691 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1334 GMT 6 Dec 91*

[By David Greybe]

[Text] Johannesburg Dec 6 SAPA—Chris Hani has been nominated unopposed to become the next general secretary [GS] of the South African Communist Party [SACP] and will accept the nomination if it is the wish of the overwhelming majority of delegates at the party's congress.

"If there's an overwhelming feeling from the party that I should stand, in other words if congress instructs me to stand, I will stand," Mr Hani told SAPA in an exclusive interview during the afternoon session on the second day of the SACP's Eighth Congress, being held outside Johannesburg.

Nominations officially close at 6 PM on Friday.

Current General Secretary Joe Slovo announced recently he would not stand for re-election.

Senior SACP members at the congress confirmed to SAPA that "Chris will be our new GS" [general secretary].

What has surprised the media attending the congress is that the African National Congress recently publicly turned down a SACP request for Mr Hani to take over from Mr Slovo.

Mr Slovo has been nominated unopposed to the position of national chairman, and SACP national organiser Charles Nqakula has been nominated unopposed as deputy general secretary.

Raymond Mhlaba, chairman of the SACP's internal leadership group, and current party National Chairman Dan Tloome have been nominated to contest the position of deputy national chairman.

The post of treasurer will, unless there are last minute changes, be contested between current Treasurer Essop Pahad and Kay Moonsamy.

A list of nominations for the new SACP Central Committee has also been released, with withdrawals and additions allowed till 6 PM.

**Hani, Slovo, Others Elected 'Unopposed'***MB0612190691 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1740 GMT 6 Dec 91*

[By David Greybe]

[Text] Johannesburg Dec 6 SAPA—Chris Hani will be the new South African Communist Party [SACP] general secretary, after he was nominated unopposed at the party's Eighth National Congress outside Johannesburg on Friday.

His nomination was confirmed in a special announcement to the 400 delegates by the chief election officer Kadar Asmal, after nominations officially closed.

Mr Hani told SAPA he would accept the nomination, and fellow senior SACP member Ronnie Kasrils said the African National Congress [ANC] had no choice but to accept the congress' overwhelming decision.

The bombshell announcement on Friday follows a recent public refusal by the ANC leadership to relinquish Mr Hani from his post as chief of staff of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation; MK], and to stand for the position of SACP general secretary.

The post has become available after present General Secretary Joe Slovo announced he would stand down.

"If there's an overwhelming feeling from the party that I should stand, in other words if congress instructs me to stand, I will stand," Mr Hani told SAPA in an exclusive interview on the second day of congress.

Mr Kasrils told SAPA: "It shows how popular he is and how strongly the party needs Chris Hani in this position."

Three of the other four top positions in the SACP also went unopposed, Mr Asmal announced on Friday night.

Mr Slovo was unopposed as national chairman, Charles Nqakula was unopposed as deputy general secretary, and Kay Moonsamy was unopposed as treasurer, after current treasurer Essop Pahad withdraw his nomination late on Friday afternoon.

The only senior position to be contested in an election, to be held on Saturday morning, is that for deputy national chairman. SACP Internal Leadership Group Chairman Raymond Mhlaba will stand against current National Chairman Dan Tloome.

Elections for 25 Central Committee posts will also be held at the congress venue on Saturday morning.

Mr Kasrils said he did not think Mr Hani would be able to continue as both MK chief of staff and SACP general-secretary.

"It would be very difficult for him to continue as chief of staff, not that Umkhonto we Sizwe wouldn't want that, but because from the party's side we have to insist that our general-secretary devotes himself or herself to this important work.

"But perhaps we can find some flexible arrangement whereby he can continue to play some role at this very important military level because, of course, he's very popular with the MK cadres."

It could be in the position as an advisor, he said.

"There's nothing in the constitution of the party or in fact the ANC in relation to MK which says that a leader of the party shouldn't be playing a key role there.

"After all, Joe Slovo was chief of staff of MK when he was general secretary of the party."

Mr Kasrils did not foresee any problems with the ANC leadership accepting the SACP congress' overwhelming decision.

"The ANC and its leadership are mature and they're close to the party in terms of our alliance. I think they'll really realise that the party has to address the question of its own tasks, building the party, and its independent role.

"I'm sure that the ANC leadership and the Umkhonto leadership and membership will understand this."

Did the ANC have to accept the SACP's decision?

"This is a congress of the Communist Party, which obviously is exercising its right to elect its leaders, so I don't think it actually becomes even a question."

Mr Kasrils added that Mr Hani's nomination wasn't necessarily such a great loss for the ANC or MK.

"As you know, we have members of the party leadership who are on the National Executive Committee of the ANC. Chris Hani will remain in that position... but of course his work will concentrate on this very necessary area of building our party and giving leadership."

He described Mr Hani's unopposed nomination as SACP general-secretary "a fantastic step forward for the party.

"Chris Hani is so popular in this country... This is going to be an incredible morale booster for our party membership, who will see in Chris accepting this position dead seriousness from the top in coming to grips with the task of building the party."

#### **Hani Election Termed 'Major Coup'**

MB0912185191 Johannesburg THE STAR in English  
9 Dec 91 p 11

[Article by Patrick Laurence: "SACP [South African Communist Party] delegates score major coup"]

[Text] The South African Communist Party [SACP] gave notice at its congress in Johannesburg at the weekend that it would, where necessary, pursue an independent course rather than serve as a mere ancillary to the ANC [African National Congress].

The election of Chris Hani, a senior member of the ANC and chief of staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe [spear of the nation; ANC military wing], as SACP general-secretary is a clear manifestation of the independent-minded mood of the 400 delegates who attended the congress.

It is common knowledge, as Mr Hani acknowledged at a news conference after his election, that the ANC was loath to release him to serve as a fulltime officer of the SACP.

Yet the delegates, who occupy leadership positions at local branch level and who reflect grassroots opinion in the SACP, insisted that he make himself available to succeed Joe Slovo as general-secretary and take over the single most important position in the party.

They simply refused to take "no" for an answer, either from Mr Hani, who spoke jokingly of their insistent "friendly persuasion", or from the ANC leadership.

Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu, ANC president and vice-president respectively, were informed of the mood of the congress and raised no objections, Mr Slovo, who was unanimously elected as SACP chairman, told journalists. One wonders, however, whether they had any option but to concur.

By persuading Mr Hani to stand and the ANC to release him, the SACP delegates scored a major coup for the party. Mr Hani, a charismatic man with popular support, can only strengthen the SACP's appeal in the black community where, in large measure, the ideological battles of the future will be won or lost.

It is true that there are fraternal relations between the SACP and the ANC. It is true too, as Mr Hani was quick to point out, that he will not be the first man to hold top posts in both the ANC and SACP. Two of the best-known black communists from an earlier era—Moses Kotane and Moses Mambida—held senior positions in ANC.

But these are different times and, to quote Mr Hani, "the position of general-secretary in the SACP is a full time job". The SACP will thus be the primary beneficiary of his talents, energy and popularity.

A measure of Mr Hani's popularity was given in July at the ANC's conference when he topped the list of successful candidates for the 50 seats on the national executive chosen by popular vote after the election of the six major office bearers.

Another indication of the SACP's independent role emerged during the news conference after Mr Hani's election: Mr Hani will almost certainly lead the SACP team at the pending Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] negotiations, with the seasoned Mr Slovo at his side.

In recording the emergence of a mood favouring a higher profile and a more independent role for the SACP, one should not over-emphasise the point. The SACP is not about to part company with the ANC. It remains a key partner in the tripartite alliance with the ANC and the Congress of South African Trade Union.

"Each of the organisations in the alliance discusses the negotiating process," Mr Slovo said in reply to a question on whether—and if so, how—the positions of the SACP differed from those of the ANC.

"They don't always start off with the same points of view on every detail. But a mechanism has been established—a special joint negotiating forum which meets once a



week—where whatever differences that exist are ironed out to reach sufficient consensus.

"But there is no guarantee that we will go into the negotiating process with an undertaking by each organisation that we will necessarily follow one another on every single issue."

The independent mood of the congress was manifest against the SACP leadership itself in debate at the weekend.

Congress overwhelmingly rejected the use of the phrase "democratic socialism", opting instead, against the wishes of Mr Slovo and Mr Hani, to speak of "socialism" in the newly adopted party constitution. It chose, too, to reject a move to describe the SACP as a Marxist party—and thus downplay the role of Lenin—rather than a Marxist-Leninist Party.

These decisions were interpreted by some observers as a rejection of Mr Slovo's attempts to reassert the importance of democracy and a resurgence of pre-Gorbachev communism in the SACP. Mr Slovo, however, disagreed when that interpretation was put to him.

"There was no rejection of the concept of democratic socialism; there was only rejection of the adjective 'democratic' in the context in which it was used," he said.

"If you look at the balance of the constitution—which was adopted unanimously—you will see that the delegates unanimously tied themselves to multiparty democracy and to respect for the right of all political and social organisation to exist...

"What they were doing in removing the adjective was to state their belief that socialism incorporated democracy."

Against that, however, when Harry Gwala argued for the reinsertion of the phrase "Marxism-Leninism", he was cheered widely. Mr Gwala, an old-style hardliner, is the chairman of the region which sent a congratulatory message to the men who tried to oust Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and restore the old Brezhnev regime in the Soviet Union in August.

Mr Slovo is on record, too, as arguing that what passes for Leninism is often no more than disguised Stalinism.

The SACP congress was, however, true to the post-Brezhnev concept of glasnost or openness; it fulfilled a promise—made by its leaders more than a year ago—to discard the secrecy which had characterised the SACP underground existence and led to its being accused of clandestine manipulation of the ANC.

Elections to its central committee—the highest policy-making body after the congress itself—were held during the congress, with independent organisers ensuring that everyone knew who the candidates were and that all delegate could exercise a secret vote.

The names of the central committee were published at the congress and released to the press. They were headed by Jeremy Cronin, with 407 votes. Mr Cronin is a strong protagonist of reforging strong and indissoluble links between communist and democracy.

#### Central Committee Members Elected

MB0712151691 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1503 GMT 7 Dec 91

[By David Greybe]

[Text] Johannesburg Dec 7 SAPA—Jeremy Cronin and Ronnie Kasrils topped the polls for the 25 Central Committee members of the South African Communist Party (SACP), at elections at the party's Eighth National Congress outside Johannesburg on Saturday.

The only real shock was that the outgoing SACP National Chairman Dan Tloome did not make it.

Senior SACP members SAPA spoke to were, however, not surprised, and said his age and health were factors against him.

COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions] vice-president Chris Dlamini came third in the polls, which were contested by 39 candidates in a secret ballot, and Sidney Mufamadi was fourth.

The second deputy president of COSATU, John Gomomo, polled the fifth most votes, followed by John Nkandimeng and Billy Nair.

Moses Mayekiso, the general secretary of the National Union of Metalworkers of SA [South Africa] (NUMSA) came eighth.

He was followed by Blade Nzimande, of the militant Natal Midlands region, and the region's chairman, Harry Gwala came tenth in the polls.

The rest of the Central Committee members, ending with the least number of votes received, are:

Sizakele Sigxashe, Essop Pahad, Geraldine Fraser-Moleketi, Raymond Suttner, Jenny Schreiner, Sam Shilowa, Tony Yengeni, January Masilela, Garth Strachan, Thenjiwe Mthintso, Stan Nkosi, Brian Bunting, Govan Mbeki, Matthew Makhahima, and Nozizwe Madlala.

The elections were held under the auspices of an independent electoral commission headed by Kadar Asmal.

#### 'Democratic' Dropped From Constitution

MB0612164291 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1627 GMT 6 Dec 91

[By David Greybe]

[Text] Johannesburg Dec 6 SAPA—In a display of militancy, delegates at the South African Communist

Party [SACP] congress outside Johannesburg dropped the word "democratic" before "socialist society" in its constitution on Friday.

The Eighth National Congress unanimously agreed though to the concept of a multi-party democracy in South Africa, and that it would "support and safeguard the independence of all social organisations and political parties".

Delegates voted by more than three to one to drop the word "democratic", arguing socialism is inherently democratic despite how it was abused in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

The SACP's new constitution now calls for an end to "capitalist exploitation" in the country, and for the establishment of a socialist society, not a democratic socialist society.

Party chiefs immediately dismissed speculation that the move spelt difficulty for the SACP in adopting a new manifesto, expected on Saturday, which is peppered with the word "democratic socialism", or for the constitution itself.

Outgoing SACP General-Secretary Joe Slovo, in an interview with SAPA after the vote, firmly denied it would alter the party's basic constitution or manifesto:

"Not at all, because the clauses which support multi-party democracy and the fact that the party accepts that it is going to play its role in competition with other political parties in a democratic fashion remains part of the constitution.

"As far as I am concerned the kind of socialist society that I envisage will be a society which will be informed by those provisions of the constitution."

Mr Slovo's near certain successor Chris Hani, and SACP Internal Leadership Group Chairman Raymond Mhlaba joined Mr Slovo in voting for the retention of "democratic" during the report-back on the constitution.

Fellow SACP Central Committee member Jeremy Cronin, who has played a central role in drafting the party's new manifesto and constitution, agreed with Mr Slovo that the dropping of "democratic" would not cause problems for the SACP.

"The changes will only be at T-shirt level and the wording of the manifesto and constitution," Mr Cronin told SAPA.

The vote was 269 for dropping "democratic" and 84 for its retention. The eight Welkom, [Orangi] Free State, delegates abstained from the vote.

#### **'New' Manifesto Adopted**

MB0712195191 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1918 GMT 7 Dec 91

[By David Greybe]

[Text] Johannesburg Dec 7 SAPA—The South African Communist Party [SACP] has come out unashamedly in support of Marxist-Leninist policies at its Eighth National Congress, outside Johannesburg.

Speaker after speaker has taken to the floor since the four-day congress began on Thursday and declared that the party is not prepared to apologise for the distortions and collapse of communist rule in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

The congress has committed the SACP to the process of negotiations "because they may offer the shortest and most peaceful route to the transfer of power to the people".

The new party manifesto, adopted on Saturday, adds though: "Our participation in negotiations does not rule out the use of any forms of struggle in principle or in the long term if negotiations do not offer a path to the transfer of power to the people.

"Negotiations are a terrain of struggle. Power in negotiations is derived from outside the negotiating forums, in particular through the creation of centres of real power on the ground.

"For the liberation movement this means a strengthening of the power of mass organisations as alternative sources of power in townships, the rural areas and the factories.

"The SACP's immediate demands are for an interim government of national unity to prepare the way for a constituent assembly elected on the basis of one person one vote."

The mood of the delegates first really surfaced on Friday when they voted by more than three to one to scrap the word "democratic" before "socialist society" in its constitution.

Delegates argued that socialism is inherently democratic despite how it was abused in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

This meant that the page and a bit on democratic socialism in the draft manifesto had to be scrapped at the last minute.

Democratic before socialism was also dropped wherever it was mentioned, but not before a long and vigorous debate amongst the 413 delegates.

"We must begin to reclaim democracy for the working class," senior ANC [African National Congress] and SACP member Cheryl Carolus said.

Another delegate added: "Democracy does not belong to our enemies."

But at the end of the day, the majority once again voted that socialism is inherently democratic, and did not need to be qualified.

New SACP National Chairman Joe Slovo denied it was a personal blow to him and his efforts on the subject of democratic socialism.

In an interview with SAPA after the vote, Mr Slovo firmly denied it would alter the party's basic constitution or manifesto:

"Not at all, because the clauses which support multi-party democracy and the fact that the party accepts that it is going to play its role in competition with other political parties in a democratic fashion remains part of the constitution.

"As far as I am concerned the kind of socialist society that I envisage will be a society which will be informed by those provisions of the constitution."

The congress also unanimously agreed that it would "support and safeguard the independence of all social organisations and political parties".

The SACP's new constitution now calls for an end to "capitalist exploitation" in the country, and for the establishment of a socialist society, not a democratic socialist society.

Whether the SACP's newly-adopted constitution and manifesto are hardline has become the subject of serious debate, also amongst the delegates.

But militant it definitely is: "Let us not be apologetic," Harry Gwala, the chairman of the Midlands (Natal) region, told SAPA at the congress on Saturday. He had earlier been elected onto the party's new 25-member Central Committee.

"Let us not appease imperialism just because Gorbachev has failed. After all, our party was not a satellite of the Soviet Union—we had our own independence, and we still believe in the internationalism of the working class."

As far as Mr Gwala was concerned, the mood of the congress was militant:

"It is very militant. But the militancy of the mood derives from the fact that we follow scientific socialism.

"We don't just use words because we are angry. We are trying to use proper concepts that relate to the realities of SA [South Africa] and internationally."

Another senior SACP member Jeremy Cronin, who topped the poll to the new Central Committee, denied that the congress had adopted a hardline position, maintaining instead it was principled:

"If you think it is hardline, then you're not understanding the implications of a lot that is being said (at congress)," he told SAPA after the amended manifesto was adopted.

"For instance, the commitment to civil liberties, multi-party democracy, all of those things, are contained both in the manifesto and constitution.

"I think there is a lot of openness, but without an abandonment of essential principles. I am very pleased with that.

"No, I think it's a principled attitude. On the one hand comrades are very keen to assert basic principles and not just see any sort of displacement of those.

"At the same time they are prepared to be creative on the basis of those basic principles," Mr Cronin said, adding:

"There is a clear assertion that it's not our basic principles that have failed, it's not Marxism-Leninism that has failed, it's not our basic commitment to socialism that is wrong, it's more relevant than ever.

"But at the same time we need to be creative in thinking about what those things imply and how to apply them to the South African conditions."

According to Mr Cronin, who played a key role in drafting the new SACP manifesto, the congress had achieved two things so far:

"One, to unify the party around basic perspectives on Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, which is essential; and, the way forward here on the ground in South Africa—what we begin to mean by a socialist future in South Africa.

"We've laid the basis for future debate and discussion, which is going to be essential, clearly, on all of those issues."

Mr Gwala added: "If we are going to sweep everything under the carpet, then we are no communists.

"We must be able to criticise ourselves openly, recognise our own shortcomings and then correct (them). That is the only way we can go about it."

The debate about whether the SACP should shift from a vanguard party to a mass party was resolved by compromise:

The new manifesto states that the SACP "needs to be a relatively large vanguard party with a disciplined and activist membership".

#### **Commitment To 'Negotiation Process'**

*MB0812160491 Johannesburg Radio RSA in English  
1500 GMT 8 Dec 91*

[Text] The congress of the South African Communist Party, being held near Johannesburg, has committed the party to the negotiation process, saying it may offer the shortest and most peaceful route for the transfer of power to the people.

However, the party's new manifesto said that the use of any form of struggle will not be ruled out if the negotiations fail. The manifesto also says that the party's immediate demands are for an interim government of



national unity to prepare the way for a constituent assembly in South Africa, elected on the basis of one man one vote.

The congress of the South African Communist Party also reaffirmed its support for Marxist-Leninist doctrines.

### Hani on 'Negotiating Strategy'

MB0812173491 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1654 GMT 8 Dec 91

[By David Greybe]

[Text] Johannesburg Dec 8 SAPA—The South African Communist Party (SACP), in alliance with the African National Congress (ANC) and COSATU (Congress of South African Trade Unions), will use mass action in support of its demands for an interim government within the next six months and a constituent assembly within two years.

This is the view of Chris Hani, who was speaking on Sunday in his first interview since his shock appointment as the new SACP general secretary at the weekend at the party's Eighth National Congress, outside Johannesburg.

In an exclusive interview with SAPA he spoke about his new job, the party's immediate tasks and in detail about the upcoming negotiation process.

He revealed the upcoming Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) would be called upon to instruct the South African Government to legislate for an interim government so that the decisions of Codesa would have legal force.

"Without that force of law, this government will be free to delay the processes of an interim government," Mr Hani said.

"The SACP, together with the ANC and COSATU, must gain the strategic initiative.

"We must determine the parameters of negotiations because we are the people who initiated negotiations, and between us we represent the majority of the people of South Africa.

"The Nationalist Party has got a history of authoritarian rule, and we are the people who must influence as many forces as possible to work very quickly to a democratic solution of the problems of our country," Mr Hani said.

"My immediate task as the new general secretary of the SACP is to convene an extra-ordinary and urgent meeting of the newly-elected Central Committee so that we can begin to elect a Politburo which must be in charge of day-to-day running of the party between the meetings of the Central Committee."

The Politburo would number between 10 and 12 members, Mr Hani said.

"Secondly, the Central Committee must look at the whole process of negotiations. The party is playing a role in the

negotiation process so the Central Committee has got to decide on a negotiating team and our negotiations strategy.

"Of course the party's negotiating strategy must be discussed with our allies, the ANC and COSATU, in the tri-partite alliance."

Mr Hani insisted the SACP was seriously committed to negotiation: "The SACP is very serious about negotiations because the SACP, from the very beginning, together with the ANC, initiated the processes of negotiations.

"As long as there's space for peaceful negotiations, the SACP will explore that space fully and totally, but we are not going to stop short of the bottom line.

"And the bottom line is that this government, which is illegitimate and unrepresentative, has no right to rule us even for a day, and that our demands are for one person one vote in a democratic South Africa."

The 25-member Central Committee would also have to decide how to strengthen the party, Mr Hani said. "This congress has come out clearly about the need to build a strong vanguard and mass party."

Mass action would play a key role in the tripartite alliance's negotiating strategy, Mr Hani said.

"We cannot allow a situation where the regime is going to employ delaying tactics. We cannot, for instance, allow them to say that this process must drag on for another five or six years.

"For us, we'll come out with a definite demand that this process of an interim government must be within 18 months or 24 months, and within that period the process of the discussion of a new constitution must take place.

"The party has got to begin now to say what is the role of the workers, of the ordinary people, of the poor people, in the negotiation process.

"What should the people do to push the regime to negotiate seriously so that as soon as possible we have got our interim government which must facilitate the convening of the constituent assembly. Because the bottom line must be a constituent assembly that has got to draw up this new constitution so that you can elect new government in this country."

Mr Hani said the SACP would discuss with the ANC and COSATU about the most effective forms of mass action.

"Mass action is a key and important weapon of those who don't have political power, who are not represented in Parliament."

He warned though: "We've got to be careful not to indulge just in the rhetoric of mass action. When we embark on mass action we must be sure that it's going to be effective and we must be sure that it's going to be understood by our people."

The tripartite alliance would therefore have to educate people about mass action because they would be required to make sacrifices.

"We are not just going to be shouting mass action, but we are going to be putting the issues of mass action to the people themselves.

"We don't want to prescribe to the people."

The issue of an interim government had to be one of the most important issues on the agenda of Codesa later this month, Mr Hani said, "because the government of De Klerk is completely discredited".

"It is a government which is even losing support to the Conservative Party.

"That sort of government cannot play the role of player and referee, and that's why we want an interim government.

"Our demands for an interim government are immediate," Mr Hani said. "We don't want to be delaying for another six months.

"We feel that at Codesa there must be a commitment, a declaration of intent, that there's going to be an interim government.

"And De Klerk's government must accept that Codesa will actually call upon it to go to Parliament and to legislate for an interim government so that the decisions of Codesa have got the force of law.

"Immediately the interim government is in place we expect that interim government to begin the process of preparing for a constituent assembly, by registering all the voters in this country so that they can begin to elect their own representatives to a constituent assembly.

"We want this process to be taking place within the next 18 months or two years."

#### Congress Closes; Hani Comments

*MB0812191891 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network in Afrikaans 1800 GMT 8 Dec 91*

[Text] The South African Communist Party [SACP] says it plans to maintain its independence. The SACP closed its first congress in the country, in 14 years, in Johannesburg this afternoon.

[Begin recording] [SABC reporter Conrad Burke] The newly elected general secretary of the SACP, Mr. Chris Hani, says the party will field its own delegation at the negotiation table and will determine its own strategy on negotiations. He referred to the SACP's cooperation with the ANC [African National Congress] and Cosatu [Congress of South African Trade Unions], and said that the party would maintain its own independence within this alliance.

[Hani—in English] But if a situation arises where the party feels that it does not see eye to eye with the ANC, first of all, the modality for the resolution of those issues

would be to say to the ANC, let us sit down, let us discuss this, because there are no antagonistic contradictions between ourselves and the ANC. And if we disagree, the party will say we don't agree with the ANC on this issue, so the party will take the...[pauses] if that sort of hypothetical situation arises, that the ANC and the party will follow this line, but so far there have been no such differences between the ANC and ourselves.

[Burke] During today's sitting, delegations felt that mutual cooperation within the alliance should be improved. Congress leaders praised Cuba and decided to launch a campaign against America's interference in Cuba's internal affairs, by embarking on, among other things, demonstrations.

The congress was closed with the international communist song. [end recording]

#### Report on Resolutions Passed

*MB0912062891 Johannesburg SAPA in English 2217 GMT 8 Dec 91*

[By David Greybe]

[Text] Johannesburg Dec 8 SAPA—The South African Communist Party's [SACP] Eighth National Congress ended on Sunday [8 December] with a string of resolutions, from pledging material support to Cuba, demanding the release of all political prisoners by Christmas, to criticism of a lack of constructive consultation within the ANC [African National Congress]/SACP/COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions] alliance. The 413 delegates, meeting outside Johannesburg for the past four days, also demanded the state return the ashes of former SACP Chairman Braam Fischer to his family. It was the first legal SACP congress inside South Africa since the party was banned in 1950.

The party's serious lack of funds were also dealt with in a resolution. Noting the absence of an adequate SACP policy on finances and fundraising, and the absence of a national fundraising effort, and that insufficient funds were being generated through subscriptions, the congress resolved that:

- Finance and fundraising committees be set up and strengthened at all levels;
- A national fundraising campaign be launched;
- Regions and branches be trained to implement the policy; and
- Subscriptions be reviewed by the SACP's 25-member Central Committee "from time to time".

Another resolution—which noted that the possibility of democratic elections now existed in the country—that the SACP would "abide scrupulously by the democratic process and the result thereof", demanded that:

- Such elections be conducted "in a manner that is independently verified as totally free and fair";
- All participants in the negotiations and election process commit themselves to abide by the result; and

—F W de Klerk and the National Party retract their statement that they would never hand over power to the ANC.

The resolution which criticised a lack of consultation between the ANC, SACP and COSATU, called for the alliance to be strengthened at all levels. It noted that there had not been adequate consultation on major initiatives of common concern to the alliance. There had not been enough constructive consultation because of organisational weaknesses, it added.

The resolution therefore called for a common programme of action for the alliance, including mass campaigns to strengthen it in the negotiations process. It also called for the SACP to develop its independence within the alliance.

Newly-elected SACP General Secretary Chris Hani, at a media conference at the close of the congress, denied the resolution showed a "fairly high level of discontent" within the SACP and between the SACP and its alliance partners. "Not at all. We are criticising ourselves as well," Mr Hani said. "When we say there's not been adequate consultation we are not attacking the ANC.

"We are saying that even at the level of the party there's been no deepening of the processes of consultation with the branches, with the grassroots, and we feel that this is not just a problem of the ANC, it's a problem of the entire alliance.

"So the party commits itself to play a role in improving the lines of communication and consultation in ensuring that the entire membership of the tripartite alliance is carried along during all the vital processes in our country taking place, like negotiations."

Concerning Cuba, the SACP would launch a campaign to educate people "about the struggles of the Cuban people", persuade other countries to import sugar and trade with Cuba, and establish a solidarity fund for Cubans.

A resolution on negotiations pledged the party's continued participation in the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa). It resolved to set up mechanisms within the party "to work out the positions and the participation of the SACP in the negotiations process", and called on the first Codesa meeting later this month to ensure the release of all remaining political prisoners before Christmas.

The resolution further demanded Codesa establish an interim government to govern for not longer than 18 months, "within which time a constituent assembly should be elected and draw up a new democratic constitution"; and, "that at least the SADF [South African Defense Force], all state controlled mass media and the aspects of the budget be controlled by the interim government in order to ensure that freedom of political activity and expression is guaranteed".

Other resolutions dealt with sexism within South African society and the need for an equal deal for women,

associate SACP membership, Bophuthatswana, socialist internationalism, violence, VAT [value-added tax], the ANC's military wing—Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation]—and culture.

#### Hani Television Interview 8 Dec

MB0812194191 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network  
in English 1815 GMT 8 Dec 91

[Interview with Chris Hani, newly elected South African Communist Party general secretary, in Johannesburg on 8 December by John Bishop on the "Agenda" program—live]

[Text] [Bishop] Next to me is the newly elected general secretary of the South African Communist Party [SACP], Mr. Chris Hani. He is fresh from that congress, which ended just a few hours ago, and we will be speaking to him in just a moment.

As you know, for the past three days the South African Communist Party [SACP] has been holding its first Congress on South African soil, and to the surprise of many Mr. Chris Hani was elected its leader despite reported initial strong opposition from the ANC [African National Congress] and its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation; MK].

Mr. Hani, welcome. Do we say congratulations or commiserations to you?

[Hani] I would prefer that you should say congratulations, John.

[Bishop] All right. Now, you are in fact still connected with Umkhonto we Sizwe, I think. Are you the boss of both now, the Communist Party and Umkhonto we Sizwe?

[Hani] Actually, strangely I have never been the boss of Umkhonto we Sizwe. I have always been No. 2. The boss is Comrade Joe Modise.

[Bishop] But everybody thinks you had, I don't know, so much publicity everybody thinks you are the top man there.

[Hani] Well, I think those are the perceptions of the press and other people.

[Bishop] But you are keeping a close hand on the soldiers of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

[Hani] Well, as chief of staff, John, I am playing an important role in Umkhonto we Sizwe.

[Bishop] I am going to ask you to do something especial on this live telecast tonight, Mr. Hani. In the spirit of Codesa [Convention for Democratic South Africa], which you have attended and will attend, why don't you just declare the armed struggle over? Not suspended—it's over.

[Hani] Well, John, that can't be done through a decree. It's an important and fundamental issue of our struggle that it has got to be considered by the African National



Congress leadership. I think we are moving toward a stage where this is possible. I think in fact it will be possible.

[Bishop] Soon?

[Hani] Well, it will depend on the progress that is made by all the parties in the deliberations at Codesa, and so far I think all of us are optimistic that the first steps have been positive.

[Bishop] It's true, though, isn't it, that apart from rights for everyone the major crying need of South Africa is peace, isn't it?

[Hani] I agree with you entirely.

[Bishop] What a pity you can't help it on its way this evening.

[Hani] Well, I belong to the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party, and issues that are fundamental have got to be discussed in a democratic way within those organizations. I have no powers at all to just announce on television that the armed struggle is over.

[Bishop] But you want peace.

[Hani] I want peace. I joined the armed struggle in order that peace should be achieved in this country. If I did not want peace I would not have joined the Umkonto we Sizwe.

[Bishop] All right. Let's talk about some of the decisions. I only got them through the press, OK? You decided that the Communist Party will go on as the Communist Party of South Africa, that it will not have the tag, democratic socialism, in front of it. It will be a Marxist-Leninist party. Is that right?

[Hani] Correct, John, and I wish you had been there to listen to the discussion and to the debates. The decision to drop the adjective, democratic, was reached after a very long and protracted debate. The participants argued that socialism in inherently democratic, that what we have seen in Eastern Europe is a distorted form of socialism, that socialism as expounded by its founding fathers, Marx and Engels, is basically democratic and that we South African Communists are committed to democracy. We want a multiparty system of government. That is contained in our draft manifesto.

[Bishop] But this is something new, it's a dream, isn't it? I mean, Marxism-Leninism in practice, whether it's been in the Soviet Union in the Far East or anywhere else has been profoundly undemocratic. I mean, there has been, certainly from the evidence we have had, a feeling and indeed an implication that rung through the whole thing that socialism, Marxism and Leninism is the only thing to vote for. In fact there has only been one party to vote for. You see what I am saying? If Marxism-Leninism doesn't have inherent in it the right to lose at the ballot box, where is your example? Where are we going with this Marxism-Leninism?

[Hani] Well, John, have we not made a public admission that there were serious violations of democracy in Eastern Europe and in the Soviet Union?

[Bishop] Yes, you have.

[Hani] That thousands if not millions of dissidents were thrown into prisons and that human rights were seriously violated. We have made this admission.

[Bishop] You have indeed, and you blamed it really on Stalinism, haven't you?

[Hani] We have blamed it on Stalinism and we have blamed it on the bureaucratic nature of the Communist Parties in those countries.

[Bishop] yes.

[Hani] We have blamed it on a number of issues. We must also look at the history of, let's say, the great October Revolution in 1917.

[Bishop] Yes.

[Hani] There was a lot of hostility against the victory of the Bolsheviks. There was intervention from the Western countries, and the Soviet Communists from the very beginning were not given a chance to consolidate themselves. But I want to say, whereas there might have been a justification for strong measures at the beginning, the most serious mistake they made was to institutionalize those murders even when the traitor disappeared.

[Bishop] Mr. Hani let me suggest to you that it's not true that you and Mr. Joe Slovo have misinterpreted history. That in fact what you should be talking about getting rid of is Leninism- Stalinism; not Marxist-Leninism. In fact, it's not Lenin good, Stalin bad, to use a term, its Lenin bad, Stalin bad. Now before I finish this question and speech combined, let me just say that this is not my own pet theory. This comes from people like a leading French communist, who as far back as 1968 said Lenin had two choices: to truly democratize or go for the central bureaucratic state, and he chose the latter. In fact, Stalin was following his master Lenin. This is also coming out of Russia now. Russian, if you like, revisionist historians are saying the same thing. So you're really on the wrong tack here.

[Hani] I don't agree with you. And I'll explain myself. We are saying in our documents that we are guided by the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin. Those teachings which have been proved by historical experience to have been correct ...

[Bishop, interrupts] Where?

[Hani] We don't ...

[Bishop, interrupts] Where have we been proven correct?

[Hani, continues] Wait, I'm coming. We don't consider Marxism-Leninism a sort of bible, some catechism ...

[Bishop, interrupts] A secular religion it's been called.

[Hani] We don't take it. We are creative in our application and we are right in saying: Where has it been implemented properly?

[Bishop] But it's never been done properly then. Is that what you're saying?

[Hani] Well, there have been serious shortcomings, this admission I'm making.

[Bishop] But why would the African people, who are at some stage or another preparing to have a free and fair elections, take a great leap in the dark and choose your party, based on principles which have never worked?

[Hani] But you see, I don't to ...

[Bishop, interrupts] No I'm just ...

[Hani, interrupts] No, no, no let me ...

[Bishop, interrupts] Please respond. Why would they do that?

[Hani] We are going to explain ourselves to the African people in this country. We are saying that you see, we don't see ourselves as the only players. We want the people to have a choice and I think our party has got a right to place its objectives before the African people.

[Bishop, interrupts] Well do that now.

[Hani, continues] And our experience in this country is one where our people have suffered under the most cruel form of capitalism. I don't want to accept that capitalism had not committed a crime in this country, it's only apartheid and the government. That is totally unacceptable.

[Bishop] Are you saying that capitalism is the great monster then?

[Hani] Capitalism is a great monster.

[Bishop] Is it?

[Hani] It is.

[Bishop] Is it? But hasn't it been the social engineering of apartheid which really has been equated with the social engineering of Marxism-Leninism?

[Hani] No I don't agree with you at all. Capitalism in this country has been an ally, a faithful ally of the apartheid system. Who built the compounds and the hostels? Who acquiesced to the introduction of the migrant labor system? Who broke down the families of African people? It is the capitalist system which was practiced in this country. The capitalists were happy to accumulate, you know, huge profits in this country on the basis of cheap labor. And they never intervened to defend human rights.

[Bishop] So what you are offering South Africa is what? No capitalism? A kind of purified, if you want to use that word, Marxism-Leninism? Is that what you're offering?

[Hani] We are offering the people of this country, as the South African Communist Party, socialism. Socialism which is going to uphold democracy.

[Bishop] What will that look like?

[Hani] That socialism is going to be one where our people won't just be given the only prescription, the South African Communist Party, it's going to allow any party of their own choice.

[Bishop] Other parties.

[Hani] Yes, other parties. And we will never, you know, institutionalize ourselves as the only ruling party in this country.

[Bishop] Mr. Hani, aren't you profoundly embarrassed by what's happened over the last couple of years? I mean, people by the hundred and million are telling us what it was like to live under that system. The very name, communism, stinks in the nostrils of people who have lived under it all over this planet, and here you are saying, no, it's OK, we are going to have communism. It's a contradiction in terms, isn't it?

[Hani] I don't think so. I am not embarrassed at all. I am embarrassed by the distortions and the atrocities committed. I am embarrassed by that, John. And I am embarrassed by the fact that my party acquiesced to those practices. That embarrasses me.

We have done a lot of soul searching at the party and I think we have diagnosed the problems in those countries, and we are saying it must not happen in our own country in South Africa. We must have socialism with democracy. We must have a party which is not going to impose itself on people without, you know, testing.

[Bishop] Why not change the name of the party and call your party a social democratic party?

[Hani] No, no, no. I think there are certain fundamental differences between ourselves and a social democracy.

[Bishop] Would your Marxist-Leninism have a centralized system? One party, one people, one state, command economics.

[Hani] No, no, no.

[Bishop] No private enterprise?

[Hani] Well, John, I have said that we believe in a multiparty system.

[Bishop] Yes, what about the economy?

[Hani] Well, the economy as we envisage ultimately, not just people of the Communist Party like ours, is that our ideal society—and that won't happen in my lifetime or even in the lifetime of my own children—is that no person should be allowed to live off the labor of another. That's our ideal. And certainly you must not, you know, stick rigidly even to nationalization. What we need is

democratization of the country so that we have ownership in a number of ways because what is important is the empowerment of the people. We must ensure that the workers, for instance, have got their role to play not just, you know, selling their labor power.

[Bishop] No, but you could have all that, couldn't you? You could have worker participation, what Mrs. Thatcher [Hani laughs] if I can mention her name with you, described as people's capitalism. You see, the modern economy, the economists are saying, anyway, has to end up with inequality of result, not inequality of opportunity. Some people will be workers, some people will be more successful, and will be, if you like, the owners of production. Some people will be more thrifty, others won't save. I mean, that's the natural way of man, isn't it?

[Hani] No, no, no, John. We are saying there will be workers under socialism.

[Bishop] Yes, of course.

[Hani] But you see, under socialism we are not going to allow the means of production to be in the hands of the few. In capitalist countries, even in our own country, there is a concentration of the means of production in the hands of a few people.

[Bishop] But have you not perhaps been out of the country rather too long?

[Hani] No, no, no.

[Bishop] I mean, have you noticed the changes since you have returned? Many, if I can isolate it for a moment, many black people are now owning their own businesses. They are very neatly structured into the economy, they are making advances to themselves and their family, and the community.

[Hani] Come with statistics, John.

[Bishop] What are you going... [pause] Well, look, I mean, first.

[Hani] Come with statistics, John.

[Bishop] All right. Well...

[Hani, interrupts] I have gone around this country.

[Bishop] All right, but statistically we can say, and it may not be a very good example, but this country, even with all its sanctions and everything else, is economically better structured and wealthier across the board than many another country in Africa.

[Hani] You know, John, I hate...

[Bishop, interrupts] Would you accept that?

[Hani] I hate the comparisons between South Africa and other countries in Africa. I think when we consider the economic arrangements in this country we should compare the blacks in this country with the whites. There is an accumulation of wealth and privileges in the hands of

white people in this country, and yet the majority of our people are wallowing in poverty.

[Bishop] But what about, you know, all across the board—the churches, Mr. De Klerk's government, just about all the parties you are sitting around the table with, recognized there has to be if possible a quick fix to get the poor less poor. I mean, they all agree with you on that, but why go for something that there has been an absolute flop?

[Hani] But Mr. De Klerk and others have not come out...

[Bishop, interrupts] Of poverty?

[Hani] And they have not said to us this is the way we are going to take. Then we can never entrust our future in the hands of Mr. de Klerk and his government.

[Bishop] But surely you have got a chance to sit at the table with him.

[Hani] We are going to sit down with him to work out a democratic solution to the problems of this country.

[Bishop] But what about, you know, all across the board? The churches, Mr. de Klerk's government, just about all the parties you're sitting around the table with, recognize there has to be, if possible, a quick-fix to get the poor less poor. I mean, they all agree with you on that. But why go for something that's been an absolute flop?

[Hani] But Mr. de Klerk and others have not come out ...

[Bishop, interrupts] What, poverty?

[Hani, continues] And they have not said to us: This is the way we are going to take, and we can never entrust our future in the hands of Mr. de Klerk and his government.

[Bishop] But surely you've got a chance to sit at the table soon.

[Hani] Well we are going to sit down with him to work out a democratic solution to the problems of this country.

[Bishop] Mr. Hani, are you absolutely adamant? Could you, Chris Hani, you know, after how many years in the party, suddenly have a change of mind? Were you presented with a system that would meet your needs and the needs of the poor people of South Africa that didn't entail Marxism-Leninism. Could you change?

[Hani] Well I don't know because of the [changes thought] that will be a hypothetical case.

[Bishop] Yes, spoken like a true politician, may I say Mr. Hani.

[Hani] So far, my experience in this country is one where I've seen the ravages wrought on our people by capitalism.

[Bishop] Can't people change then? Even white capitalists. Can't they change?



[Hani] Well, you see, we are going to enter, and I think we should enter, into discussion with white capitalists. And we have got to tell them that it is important for them to have a social conscience. I don't think the accumulated problems of this country can be solved even by a democratic government alone, in future.

[Bishop] Don't you think those clever men running capital know they have to have a social conscience? Aren't they doing things already?

[Hani] Well I think you see they are beginning to enter into dialogue with us, with the trade unions. And that's not thanks to them, it's because there has been a struggle and because they have seen the futility of the policy they have pursued in the past.

[Bishop] Well you've acted as a catalyst. Is that what you're saying?

[Hani] We have acted as a catalyst.

[Bishop] Alright. Let's look at this because it's often raised, you know. It's said and I again can't give you actual figures, but it's said that about 79 percent of this country are religious. Now that may not seem interesting but, in fact, if you're talking about Marxism-Leninism, and you're following the line that religion is the opium [as heard] of the masses: How are you going to appeal, with your party's philosophy, to those who believe in God?

[Hani] But John why are you lumbering me with wrong positions we have taken in the past?

[Bishop] No, no I'm not lumbering. What I'm saying ...

[Hani, interrupts] Okay John ...

[Bishop, interrupts] No, look ...

[Hani, interrupts] We have moved away from that position ...

[Bishop, interrupts] Have you?

[Hani] Okay, then let's hear that. Do you believe in God?

[Hani] I don't believe in God. I have got a right not to believe in God.

[Bishop] Of course you have.

[Hani] But I respect your right to believe in God, and we are saying that you see, religious people have got a right to come and join our party.

[Bishop] It's not the opium of the masses?

[Hani] It's not the opium, of the masses. People have got their own beliefs and they cannot be forced to abandon those beliefs.

[Bishop] Yes.

[Hani] And what is fundamental in Marxism-Leninism as far as we are concerned, is the question of the redistribution of the wealth of the country in an equitable manner.

[Bishop] That's the important one? Redistribution. In what manner would that be equitable? How would that work out?

[Hani] Well, first of all, in our own country, the basic issue staring us in the face is the economic empowerment of the black people in this country. The government has got to use a number of options; a democratically elected government. because I don't accept that you know, everything should be left to the free-market economy.

[Bishop] No? Well what about a mixed economy. Many people ...

[Hani, interrupts] The ANC for instance, believes in a mixed economy. The party also in the stage of post apartheid, also endorses that position.

[Bishop] National health?

[Hani] We believe in national health services.

[Bishop] Mrs. Thatcher never touched it.

[Hani] Well, Mrs. Thatcher has been touching... [changes thought] I'm not sure what she touched and did not touch.

[Bishop] Well, she didn't dare to touch that.

[Hani] But you see we believe in providing medical services to our people in an affordable manner. We believe for instance and we are happy that the Nationalist [as heard] Party is moving towards that position of providing free and compulsory education.

[Bishop] So, a lot of the needs you've enunciated this evening are, or they look as if they are going to be met by the National Party.

[Hani] It is because of the struggle, John. It is because we have been pressurizing them. Not only ourselves, but other broadly democratic organizations.

[Bishop] Can I just ask you quickly because, you know, it's gone so fast. SDU's [self-defense units]?

[Hani] Yes.

[Bishop] Right. SDU's. Really, armies in waiting for you and the SACP to start the insurrectionary uprising. Is that what they are really there for?

[Hani] No, no, no. Not at all, John. When we were unbanned by the Nationalist Party government we agreed to enter into negotiations with this government in order to work out a democratic dispensation in this country. We unilaterally suspended the armed struggle. We did not get anything in return. So, because of our legality, we abandoned the strategy of general insurrection, and we said as a possibility of a peaceful transition

to a democratic dispensation in this country the SDU's have been imposed on us because of the violence which became rampant from 1990.

[Bishop] How many men have you got fully armed and ready in those SDU's at the moment?

[Hani] Well, I don't know. I have no statistics. I don't know because the SDU's don't belong to the ANC. They are a property of community organizations, and the ANC is part of those community organizations. The ANC, the civics, the trade unions because they are a product of the violence we have seen unfolding throughout the country, especially in the PWV [Pretoria, Witwatersrand and Vereeniging], Natal, and the Western Cape. Because it is our perception that the police have failed to solve the problems of our land.

[Bishop] Thirty seconds. What does 1992 look like for you?

[Hani] I am very much optimistic about 1992. I think we are going to agree generally to have an interim government in South Africa, and we hope that interim government will quickly prepare for a constituent assembly so that we can begin the process of drawing up a democratic constitution. So that we can have democratic elections in this country.

[Bishop] Well, South Africa's eyes are on you, among others, Mr. Hani. And that's all we have time for, I am afraid.

[Hani] Thank you, John.

[Bishop] Thanks for joining me tonight.

[Hani] Thank you.

#### **Hani Cited on MK, SADF 'Integration'**

*MB0812205491 Johannesburg SABA in English  
2040 GMT 8 Dec 91*

[By David Greybe]

[Text] Johannesburg Dec 8 SABA—The integration of the South African Defence Force [SADF] and the military wing of the African National Congress [ANC], Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation; MK], in a new national army would soon be debated, MK Chief of Staff Chris Hani said on Sunday.

He was speaking at a media conference after the South African Communist Party's [SACP] Eighth National Congress, where he was elected the party's new general secretary.

The position of the ANC/SACP/Cosatu [Congress of South African Trade Unions] alliance is that the SADF, liberation movement armies and homeland armies should be merged into a new South African Army.

Mr Hani hinted strongly at the SACP congress that he would be standing down as MK chief of staff, so as to concentrate on his new SACP job.

Senior SACP and ANC member Ronnie Kasrils told SABA Mr Hani could in future act as an advisor to MK.

"As part of the ANC, part of the SACP, and as part of MK—because I'll continue to play some role in MK—I shall be making some contribution towards the process of the integration of the security forces," Mr Hani told the media conference on Sunday.

"I'm sure that the debate about intergration will soon unfold," he said. "We can't be moving towards negotiations without also sitting down to define what kind of security force we want to build to serve a democratic South Africa."

Mr Hani, who was appointed SACP leader despite a recent public refusal by the ANC to allow him to relinquish his MK post, said his SACP appointment was not a slap in the face for MK.

"I don't think... my election as general secretary is downgrading Umkhonto we Sizwe."

The SACP decision had taken conscious of the fact that MK had at its recent congress in Venda voted to keep Mr Hani as MK chief of staff.

The SACP had in fact passed a resolution at its congress "that Umkhonto we Sizwe should be strengthened so that it plays an important role in the integration of the security forces in this country", Mr Hani said.

ANC Deputy President Walter Sisulu told SABA on Saturday his organisation would have to accept the shock appointment of Mr Hani as SACP leader.

#### **ANC's Ramaphosa on 'Key' Positions at Codesa**

*MB0712150591 Johannesburg SABA in English  
1442 GMT 7 Dec 91*

[By Enrico Kemp]

[Text] Cape Town Dec 7 SABA—The African National Congress [ANC] wanted elections within six months and was fully prepared to "sweep the boards and become the new government of South Africa, ANC Secretary-General Cyril Ramaphosa said on Saturday.

He also said the ANC remained committed to the demand for an elected constituent assembly and would resist any attempts by the government to turn the forthcoming Conference [as received] for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) into a de facto interim government.

Mr Ramaphosa and National Executive member Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa were briefing journalists and diplomats on key ANC positions to be adopted at the historic all-party talks on December 20 and 21.

Issues to be debated at the talks will include the reincorporation of the TBVC [Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, Ciskei] states, the nature and functions of an interim government and the role of the international community in the transitional period.

Asked whether the ANC's economic policy should not be clarified for debate at the Codesa talks, Mr Ramaphosa said the question of economic policy was not on the agenda for the talks.

He said the ANC believed that economic issues "need to be addressed in a different setting". The ANC's economic policy will be finalised at an economic summit in March next year.

A memorandum detailing the ANC's statement of principles states that South Africa will become a united, democratic, non-racial and non-sexist state.

A multi-party system of government with regular elections will be introduced and all South Africans will enjoy common and equal citizenship and nationality and the right to participate in the government of the country.

The ANC favours a separation of powers between the legislature, executive and judiciary, with appropriate checks and balances.

A future South Africa will have an independent, non-racial and representative judiciary and all people will be guaranteed equality before the law.

#### **Richmond Police, Women in 'Tense Standoff' 5 Dec**

*MB0512113691 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1037 GMT 5 Dec 91*

[By Craig Doonan]

[Text] Richmond Dec 5 SAPA—About 300 women were involved in a tense standoff with about 50 armed policemen and soldiers in the Natal midlands town of Richmond at noon on Thursday as negotiators attempted to prevent violence from erupting.

The women, from Richmond's Ndoleni township, staged a protest march on Thursday in contravention of unrest area regulations.

The Richmond magisterial district was declared an unrest area in Wednesday's government gazette but about 300 African National Congress [ANC]-supporting women ignored police orders not to go ahead with the march.

Tensions ran extremely high as the women proceeded from the township to Richmond to demand that riot police be withdrawn from black townships around the town.

The ANC alleges riot police fanned violence in the Richmond area by colluding with attacks by Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP] supporters on ANC supporters.

The death toll in IFP/ANC fighting in Richmond this year is well over 200 with at least 10 deaths recorded in the past week.

The march began at 11AM on Thursday amid confusion as to whether the protest action would be allowed to go ahead.

Despite police warnings the march would be illegal in terms of the unrest declaration, and that marchers would be dispersed or arrested if they went ahead, the adamant women decided to continue with their planned action.

The women then marched to the boundaries of Richmond where they met a line of at least 50 policemen and soldiers.

Police with teargas and shotguns formed a line to prevent the marchers from entering the town.

The women demanded they be allowed to present a memorandum listing their grievances to Richmond's police station commander who was, however, "not available" on Thursday.

While ANC officials negotiated with police to try and prevent the standoff from turning violent, the women sang and toyi-toyed [danced a protest dance].

#### **Area Declared Unrest Area**

*MB0512163991 Johannesburg South African  
Broadcasting Corporation Network in English  
1500 GMT 5 Dec 91*

[Text] The magisterial district of Richmond in Natal has been declared an unrest area.

An announcement to this effect was published today in the Government Gazette by the minister of law and order, Mr. Hernus Kriel.

The town has been plagued by unrest in the past two months, and business concerns have been severely affected by a consumer boycott.

A planned ANC [African National Congress] protest march for this morning was canceled.

#### **State-Funded Group Said To Spread NP Propaganda**

*MB0612160291 Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL  
in English 6-12 Dec 91 pp 3,8*

[Article by Drew Forrest and Gavin Evans: "Millions Spent To 'Convert' Coloureds"]

[Text] A government-funded organisation is being used to spread National Party [NP] propaganda in the coloured community, under the guise of "Christian cultural" aid.

An investigation by THE WEEKLY MAIL suggests that over R[and]12-million has been paid out over a three-year period to the South African Christian Cultural Organisation (SACCO) and its affiliates—most of whom operate in the coloured community.

SACCO chairman Dr Du Plessis Strauss admitted his organisation received R34,000 from the House of Representatives earlier this year and was expecting further funding from the same source. However, the origin of the rest of the funding remains a mystery.



At the centre of the web is a mysterious former assistant director of national education, turned private entrepreneur, Dr Louis Pasque, who was awarded the Star of Africa in 1987 for "services to state security" and also does consultancy work for the coloured Labour Party.

Pasque was the head of a closed corporation, Adult Education Consultants, which he said had helped set up a range of Christian cultural organisations in coloured communities across the Cape. It also helped establish a network of consultancies, apparently manned by white Afrikaners, to provide the organisations with training and other services. Its funding came via the Pretoria-based South African Board of Trustees, of which Pasque is a member.

He told THE WEEKLY MAIL that funding for the project had come from Afrikaner well-wishers who wanted to uplift the coloured community but wished to remain anonymous. Funding had also come from large businesses such as Sasol [South African Coal, Oil and Gas Corporation] and Gencor [General Mine Union Corporation], he said. However, representatives of both these companies emphatically denied they had provided financial assistance of any nature to the board or SACCO.

According to a former executive secretary of the SACCO-affiliated North-West Cape Christian Cultural Organisation (NWCCCO), Pedro Saal, many of the training courses offered were heavily ideological in content.

From early 1989, when the NWCCCO was founded, the emphasis was on the "total onslaught" against South Africa, he said. "We were warned that the African National Congress and the United Democratic Front were out to destroy the country. There were also lectures on the dangers of communism."

In June last year—after the National Party's historic switch of political direction—"phase two" of the training programme was introduced, Saal said. This significantly shifted the emphasis to the need for the coloured community to support the NP and to vote for it "when the time came".

The virtues of free enterprise were extolled and participants were warned against the danger of "taking other people's possessions".

He said the lecturers were given by the Kimberley-based consultancy Dia/Plus and by Pasque's Adult Education Consultants. Phase two of the training programme had been introduced at a week-long seminar by Sid Viljoen, of Adult Education Consultants, and two instructors from Dia/Plus.

"It made us very angry," he said. "We told the consultants they mustn't come with the Bible in their open hand and politics behind their back."

Dia/Plus manager Johan van Vuuren told The Weekly Mail they provided "financial and other advice" to these organisations, and acknowledged they gave "information about political parties".

"Anything they asked us for we gave," he explained.

Dr Strauss said one of the aims was to "explain the views of all political groups in the South African arena, because we're moving to a democratic society".

Stellenbosch University-based SACCO consultant Johan van Balen said the main purpose of the organisation was the "upliftment of people in need and in poverty" and stressed it was not a party-political group.

Earlier this year, he said, it had come into conflict with "liberal thinkers in the NG Sendingkerk [Dutch Reformed Mission Church]", who did not approve of what it was doing in the coloured community.

Saal said that when he was dismissed from the NWCCCO earlier this year, the organisation was receiving a monthly budget of R24,000 from the South African Board of Trustees, an amount directly linked to the size of its membership. It was also provided with three new vehicles worth R90,000, as well as office and audio-visual equipment worth about R40,000.

The NWCCCO was one of SACCO's 15 other affiliates, according to Van Balen. These included branches in the coloured areas of Kimberley, De Aar, the Cape Peninsula, Port Elizabeth, East London, Ceres and Vredenburg, as well as several organisations in the African communities.

If they all received the same funding over a three-year period as the NWCCCO—and the Peninsula branch is likely to have received much more—the money involved would total more than R12-million.

Saal also said officials of the various organisations were brought together on a regular basis for weekend training courses at expensive hotels and resorts at no cost to themselves.

In addition to Dia/Plus, he knew of three similar consultancies in other parts of the country. The Cape Peninsula consulting organisation, called Go-High, according to Saal, is not listed in the phone book.

Saal said he had seen the monthly pay-cheque of one of the Dia/Plus staffers. This had been for R14,000.

He also understood that Dia/Plus' predecessor in Kimberley, Joset Housing and Management Services, had been given more than R2-million to establish new cultural organisations in the Transvaal and [Orange] Free State—a project which never got off the ground.

A number of incidents had made him suspect direct government funding of the project, Saal said:

—Pasque had repeatedly dodged questions about the source of funding, finally telling the NWCCCO that it had come from "donors who wished to remain secret".

—The Dia/Plus manager, Johan van Vuuren, had told him the NWCCCO would have to become self-sufficient after 1994, "when elections have taken place".

- The NWCCCO's vehicles had been purchased for it by a Pretoria outfit called the "Central Co-ordinating Control Company", which Van Vuuren admitted was "connected" with Dia/Plus. "They provide finance and hire out some stuff to us," he told THE WEEKLY MAIL. This "company" is not listed in the electronic Yellow Pages or the Pretoria phone book. Van Vuuren also said he often met Pasque.
- When the NWCCCO had decided at one point to break links with Dia/Plus, Saal was contacted by a Mr Venter in Pretoria. The latter had warned him to get the decision reversed, or the money would stop.
- An executive secretary of another "cultural" organisation had "sworn blind" to Saal that the ending of the war in Namibia had released funds which the government wished to use in the coloured community.
- House of Representatives MP (member of parliament) Piet Meyer had told him at an Upington conference that he knew Pasque, who spent much time at parliament, had "more money at his disposal than you know of".

Pasque admitted that they had received funds from the House of Representatives, but denied any other government funding. He also said a delegation was sent to the Netherlands and as a result the organisation received money from the Tear Fund.

He said Adult Education had "done some training" for the cultural bodies and had helped set them up after asking community leaders if they wanted assistance. The groups were doing "brilliant" work in such areas as feeding schemes and literacy.

He declined to say how much money the South African Board of Trustees had spent and to reveal its sources of finance, other than to say that Sasol and Gencor had contributed, as well as Afrikaners who "thought dearly" of the coloured people. Confronted with Saal's claims about the NWCCCO's budget he said: "I don't know if that's true. You must ask them."

Saal's claims of political indoctrination were nonsense, he said.

#### **Bophuthatswana Minister Criticizes BBF on Talks**

MB0412150691 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1338 GMT 4 Dec 91

[Text] Johannesburg Dec 4 SAPA—The Bophuthatswana Government on Wednesday hit back at the territory's anti-homeland activists accusing them of being out of touch with current political developments.

This week the fledgling Bophuthatswana Broad Front (BBF) vowed to campaign against President Lucas Mangope's involvement in deliberations for a future South Africa, saying he had no constituency.

Bophuthatswana's foreign affairs and information minister, Mr Tom Setiloane, said in a statement on Wednesday the front was "desperate, and so far left, as to be totally out of touch with current events".

"The so-called 'broad front' has the cheek to claim that President Mangope has no constituency, when they have to prove their legitimacy through the ballot box," he said.

"The fact that the ANC [African National Congress], COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions] and SACP [South African Communist Party] offices at ground level find it necessary to unite their anti-Bophuthatswana efforts tells of certain desperation in their ranks," Mr Setiloane said.

The BBF this week claimed the support and backing of the ANC-COSATU-SACP national leadership.

Mr Setiloane said the BBF claimed to represent "the people", but had nothing to offer but threats and hot air.

He said when the Bophuthatswana Government negotiated a new South Africa, it would represent the silent moderate majority of workers, labourers, parents and pupils.

Mr Setiloane added: "The last ditch attempt to slander Bophuthatswana is typical and totally out of touch with what is happening in the rest of southern Africa and the world".

#### **South African Press Review for 6 Dec**

MB0612134991

[Editorial Report]

#### **THE CITIZEN**

'Cynicism' of U.S. Businessmen Over ANC's Sanctions Stance—African National Congress, ANC, President Nelson Mandela's trip to the United States "is not the triumph his first visit in 1990 was," notes Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English on 5 December. "It is very hard for Mr Mandela to make a strong case for sanctions when State President De Klerk has not only introduced tremendous reforms, but has convinced world leaders of his sincerity." Mr. Mandela has "acknowledged" the "harm that sanctions have caused the Blacks of this country, but he is not big enough to say: Lift sanctions now." "No wonder there is cynicism among American businessmen. The very organisation that forced them to leave South Africa now wants them back—but not until it gives them the nod."

#### **THE STAR**

Steering Committees's 'Mood of Seriousness'—Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 6 December in a page 14 editorial comments on the "welcome mood of seriousness" that has emerged with the formation of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa, Codesa, steering committee. The "heavyweight parties sent heavyweight representatives" to its first meeting on 4 December. "This showed there was serious business to be discussed, and that the parties had sent people sufficiently senior to reach decisions without reaching for the telephone to consult their principals at every turn." "It may sound cliched to say South Africa has entered a new era in terms of political style and substance, but this is exactly what has happened as 1991



draws to a close. The old system of power is being eroded, day by day, and the prospects of it being replaced by something altogether better are rising in inverse proportion. Our future depends on safe, but speedy, driving by the steering committee. It has made a good start to the journey."

**New Trade Minister Appointment 'Bold' Move**—A second editorial on the same page says the appointment of Derek Keys as minister of Trade and Industry and Economic Coordination "is a praiseworthy initiative that adds to the prospects of a sound and meaningful revival for the nation's stalled economy." "This bold appointment can be compared to the many reforms Mr de Klerk has pushed through on the political front. Little time remains to get South Africa's economic house in order. Perhaps his next move will be to appoint a minister of finance who also enjoys the confidence of the private sector."

#### BUSINESS DAY

**New Trade Minister's 'Formidable Reputation'**—Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 6 December in a page 14 editorial says the appointment of Derek Keys as minister of Trade and Industry "could mark the moment when the Nationalists finally broke with the past, and set the country on a path to a shared future and a best-man government." "Keys has earned a formidable reputation as executive chairman of Gencor [General Mining Union Corporation]. He has shown himself to be a man of vision and good judgment, with a knack of picking able lieutenants. He should be given scope to do the same thing in government." "The ANC, predictably, sees the move as an attempt by President de Klerk to 'put the business constituency in the Nats' [National Party] pocket'. It was probably there already; business has little choice but to put its faith in government's proclaimed commitment to free markets when the alternative remains shrouded in foggy socialism."

#### THE WEEKLY MAIL

**No Inkatha Denial Over Security Force Links**—"Inkatha this week shrugged off THE WEEKLY MAIL's evidence that there was further secret police funding of the organisation with a sad admission that their cupboard is full of such skeletons: 'Inkatha members pay taxes. If we have received covert state funding without leadership knowledge, in retrospect so be it,'" declares a page 28 editorial in Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL in English for 6-12 December. "So, the organisation has reached the sad stage of not even denying its links with security forces. It also continues to fail to explain how its leadership could not have known of such extensive connections. This is one step better than the police and the state president, who have said nothing at all about the matter. Why is there not a greater outcry?"

#### NEW NATION

**PAC, ANC Should Resolve Problems at Patriotic Front Level**—The "success" of the preparatory talks that led to the establishment of Codesa "has brought new hope that the negotiations process can finally deliver peace to the country," notes Johannesburg NEW NATION in English for 6-12 December in its page 6 editorial. "It is regrettable that both Azapo [Azanian People's Organization] and the PAC have decided to stand outside of this process, because it has

now become a process that is unlikely to be arrested by the machinations of the Nationalist Party government." NEW NATION believes the problems that existed between the PAC and the ANC "could have been resolved at the level of the Patriotic Front, thus ensuring that the progressive movement continues to hold the strategic high ground during the talks."

#### CAPE TIMES

**PAC, CP Urged To Participate in Talks**—"Parties on the extremes of the political spectrum, like the PAC and the Conservative Party, are facing similar dilemmas when it comes to participation in negotiations," declares Cape Town CAPE TIMES in English on 3 December in a page 4 editorial. "The rank-and-file supporters of both organisations are clearly uneasy about becoming locked into a process where all parties will be subject to give-and-take which might water down party dogma. It is so much easier to cling to the tired rhetoric of the past as if nothing has really changed since February 2, 1990. But in both organisations there are also those who realise that opting out of the negotiation process will also rob them of the opportunity of shaping the new South Africa, even if it does not match the often extravagant promises of party ideologues." CAPE TIMES hopes the PAC and the CP "will come to realise sooner rather than later that the risks of participation are worth it."

#### BEELD

**Editorial Views ANC-Government 'Partnership'**—"One knows that the new political situation in South Africa has progressed when the ANC [African National Congress] attempts to help President de Klerk to maintain his support base," notes a page 14 editorial in the Johannesburg BEELD in Afrikaans on 3 December. "It is no secret that in the past the government was also concerned about the erosion of Mr. Mandela's support base because of the ANC's inability to organize itself. This is sufficient indication of the partnership which exists between these two big groups. The past week's multiparty conference also showed further proof of this." "The ANC has realized that a sensible agreement with the government/National Party is better than a confrontation with the right-wing, and if the government is affected by the instability brought about by the reform process, then the ANC is bound to feel that it is time to protect its own interests." "The ANC will have to contribute towards a better future for all South Africans."

**SACP Should Stop Promoting 'Bitter Pill' of Socialism**—"The South African Communist Party [SACP] is still trying to dodge the worldwide collapse of communism and the implications it contains for the party," declares a page 14 editorial in Johannesburg BEELD in Afrikaans on 4 December. "While millions of people all over the world are rejecting communism, the SACP declares through its spokesman Charles Nqakula that the party wants to use its congress as a platform to promote the international rebirth of socialism. The credibility of this should be placed on the same level as Mr. Nqakula's statement that Cuba is a democratic country. It has also been said that the SACP believes that Cuba is the leader of attempts to promote socialism countrywide." "The SACP should stop trying to sweeten the bitter pill of communism, being spat out worldwide."



## Angola

### Reportage on Government-UNITA Lobito Clashes

#### UNITA Refuses To Vacate Buildings

MB0712131491 Luanda Radio Nacional Network  
in Portuguese 1200 GMT 7 Dec 91

[Report on statements by Mango Alicerces, National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, UNITA, secretary general—passages within quotation marks are recorded]

[Excerpt] The National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] will not ask its soldiers and militants to vacate buildings they have occupied in Lobito. This was stated by UNITA Secretary General Mango Alicerces.

He said that the buildings that have been occupied belong to his party. UNITA cannot produce the relevant documents because these were lost during the war, and even if those documents were available, UNITA would not produce them.

[Alicerces] "We have already asked the government to give us the buildings. Nobody can expect us to prevent UNITA militants and supporters from occupying buildings. Everybody knows that the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola [MPLA] government has been imposed on the Angolan people. There is no legitimate government.

"If you are going to ask for the documents of UNITA militants who served during the 16-year war, in practice such documents are not available. (Those documents) were lost during the war."

The UNITA secretary general suggested that operations like the one in Lobito will occur in other parts of the country.

[Alicerces] "If the people demand UNITA's former buildings, UNITA will not tell them to vacate the buildings. That will not be done under any circumstances. What you will not see is UNITA forces occupying a building. That will not happen under any circumstances.

"I would like to ask: Don't I have the right to a house which I bought with my own money? Don't I have the right to a house where I was born and which belongs to my father? Why were houses nationalized?"

The UNITA secretary general added that his party has not instructed its troops to move from assembly points to Lobito city. What is happening, he said, is that FAPLA troops are moving toward Lobito.

That claim was denied by the government commander of the Benguela military region. [passage omitted]

#### State Denies Helicopters, FAPLA Used

MB0712105191 Luanda Radio Nacional Network  
in Portuguese 0600 GMT 7 Dec 91

[Text] A team of the Joint Political and Military Commission, CCPM, is scheduled to arrive in Lobito today to resolve the conflict that erupted yesterday between the police and forces of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, UNITA. The police had to intervene in an attempt to evict UNITA forces from three buildings that they have occupied by force on the grounds that the buildings belong to them.

In Luanda, UNITA's information secretary [Jorge Valentim] said it was not the police but the government Army that fell on the civilians, using helicopters and other means:

[Begin Valentim recoding] There was no exchange of fire. Absolutely not. That is according to concrete information. I have just been in contact with Lobito and have received updated information, including that helicopters were used on (two occasions). I received concrete information, and I am speaking based on concrete information. We are in continuous touch with Lobito. There is proof of this. I am basing my statements on figures. There were four Mi-8 helicopters. This is a fact that all military officers know. Can you imagine an Mi-8 strafing civilians in a city like Lobito which does not even have a tree for shelter? [end recording]

The general staff of the People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FAPLA] has denied any FAPLA intervention, least of all the use of Mi-8 helicopters, which are not even deployed in Lobito.

[Begin unidentified FAPLA official recording] I have just heard the radio news giving information that does not correspond to the facts as they stand. The facts are that the police, in their attempt to maintain order, as is their duty, went to the area. They tried to disperse the people that had been dragged in by UNITA to take part in a demonstration. The police even respected the defenseless civilians, although there were armed people further away but continually standing behind the residents.

In fact there were no helicopters supporting the police. There were only residents and a few UNITA soldiers hiding behind them. In view of the clash with the residents, the police opted to respect them. Unfortunately, that was the situation. I am sure that Mr. Jorge Valentim is aware of that. There were no helicopters, unless the few flamingos that might have flown over the area were mistaken for helicopters. [end recording]

Lobito residents also spoke to Luanda Radio Nacional to confirm that they saw neither FAPLA soldiers nor helicopters. Resident Ana Maria had this stay:

[Begin Maria recording] My name is Ana Maria and I live in Lobito's Caponda ward. I would like to deny Mr. Jorge Valentim's statement whereby the situation in

Lobito was very alarming. He said that the Air Force—namely, four helicopters—intervened. That is a lie, unless nowadays helicopters are invisible. There was gunfire beginning at 0514 [0414 GMT]. It stopped but resumed again at about 0900 and then stopped. It resumed at about 1100.

The incident involved the police. The Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola, FALA, were the ones who pushed civilians in front of them. There were three deaths and 25 wounded. At the moment the UNITA members are still in the hotel building. They have raised another flag, and the situation is calm. [end recording]

The situation in Lobito is beginning to look ugly. FALA Chief of Staff General Arlindo Chenda Pena Ben-Ben has instructed his men confined to the Benguela area to take action. Lieutenant Colonel Salvador Vaz, FAPLA commander of the Benguela military region, has said that at least 13 men have left for Lobito.

[Begin Vaz recording] I have contacted Brigadier Antero and Major Baza, who represent UNITA in the region. They confirmed that those men received orders from their chief of staff, Gen. Ben-Ben.

We are taking measures to prevent the aggravation of the situation. If UNITA insists that those men should enter Lobito city, FAPLA forces will obviously react. We are monitoring the movement of those men from the Chingongo region to (Fundo). We have not stopped them, but if they try to move from (Fundo) to Lobito we will have no option but to stop them. [end recording]

#### **UNITA Troops Return to Benguela**

*MB0712201491 Luanda Radio Nacional Network  
in Portuguese 1900 GMT 7 Dec 91*

[Report from Benguela correspondent]

[Text] The possibility of a military confrontation between government forces and personnel of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, UNITA, has been ruled out, following the incidents that occurred in Lobito city on 6 December, and which resulted in four dead and 28 wounded. UN Angola Verification Mission [UNAVEM]-2 sources have disclosed that troops which had been mobilized in the Chingongo assembly areas in order to intervene in Lobito have been withdrawn from positions they held on (Fundo) mountain and have returned to their assembly points.

Those forces, which, according to UNITA, included 150 men, were equipped with light weapons, mortars, and rocket launchers. They were led by Major (Osso).

UNITA's withdrawal order was confirmed by government Major Antonio de Carvalho Bettencourt, and UNITA Brigadier Antero Vieira.

[Begin recording] [Bettencourt] The two sides and UNAVEM-2 officials went to the area where UNITA

and FAPLA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] troops were deployed. [words indistinct].

[Reporter] What was the aim of [words indistinct]?

[Bettencourt] Well, I would be able to answer your question if I had given the order. The troops were concerned about the events in Lobito. They gathered [words indistinct] and believed it was a UNITA problem.

[Reporter] [Passage indistinct] [end recording]

The UNITA soldiers left their defensive positions at the [Grao Tosco] hotel early this afternoon. The UNITA militants, however, are still occupying the hotel building. [Passage indistinct] UNAVEM-2 officers, accompanied by FAPLA and FALA [Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] members this afternoon inspected the Grao Tosco Hotel [words indistinct] and the Lobito branch of the Joint Verification and Control Commission, CMVF.

Meanwhile, General Gato, the government representative within the CMVF, has already left Benguela. This morning Gen. Gato held talks with Colonel [name indistinct], the head of the UNAVEM-2 team in Lobito [words indistinct].

The UNAVEM-2 official said that the withdrawal of UNITA militants from the Grao Tosco Hotel could be decided by the politicians. [passage indistinct].

#### **Situation in Lobito Returns to 'Normal'**

*MB0612192491 Luanda Radio Nacional Network  
in Portuguese 1900 GMT 6 Dec 91*

[Report from Lobito city by unidentified correspondent]

[Text] The Joint Political and Military Commission, CCPM, will go to Lobito tomorrow to analyze the incidents that took place in that city earlier today.

A certain calm appears to have settled over Lobito city since this afternoon after the disturbances that occurred early this morning and which came in the wake of the occupation by the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, UNITA, of certain government buildings. That led to exchanges of fire between the police and some UNITA armed elements.

It should be recalled that today Joint Verification and Control Commission, CMVF, and UN Angola Verification Mission, UNAVEM-2, personnel tried everything to prevent the continuation of disturbances. A team of reporters and Radio Angola's Benguela Province branch are still trying to collect more incidental information.

After the withdrawal from the city's streets of police officers who had been stopping traffic moving toward the commercial area in an attempt to preserve law and order, everything returned to normal.

### **Savimbi Discusses Events**

*MB0712214491 Luanda Radio Nacional Network  
in Portuguese 1900 GMT 7 Dec 91*

[Text] Dr. Savimbi addressed a news conference (?at the end) of the meeting of the Political Commission of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA]. He addressed newsmen in English, Portuguese, and French.

He said: We believe in the peace process, and in free and fair elections. UNITA does not intend to stage a coup d'etat, as claimed by [words indistinct].

The UNITA leader said his organization could [words indistinct] he said that at present UNITA is the authentic opposition in Angola. He expressed the will to [words indistinct]. The opposition must attack the regime and not the other opposition parties. Dr. Savimbi said that [words indistinct] but emphasized that his militants must not abide by laws which they regard as unjust.

Portuguese television correspondent Carlos Albuquerque asked the UNITA leader who can decide if laws are just or not. Here is Savimbi's answer:

[Begin Savimbi recording] Laws are either just or unjust, depending on who introduced them. The laws were drafted by an assembly [words indistinct] and must be adhered to by all Angolans. The laws are the product of a People's Assembly appointed by a Central Committee. If we want political coexistence, the citizen must have the right to choose between just and unjust laws. [end recording]

Asked to comment on the events in Lobito, the UNITA president said that these were free demonstrations by UNITA militants as foreseen in the Bicesse accords. He added: I have not instructed those militants to demonstrate in Lobito, but demonstrations will continue.

Dr. Savimbi said that every UNITA militant is convinced that the organization will win the upcoming elections.

Journalist [name indistinct] Margarida of Portugal's TSF radio asked if there was a desire for dialogue, to which the UNITA president said:

[Begin Savimbi recording] I am also [words indistinct] UNITA has its own strategy. Basically, UNITA is a movement [words indistinct]. The government never wanted a cease-fire along with the United Nations. The government never wanted Savimbi [words indistinct] but then the government ended up accepting all these points. [words indistinct] [end recording]

### **UNITA-MPLA Differences Leading to 'Deadlock'**

*MB2511170591 Johannesburg Radio RSA in English  
1100 GMT 25 Nov 91*

[Text] Reports from Luanda say the Joint Political Military Commission, which oversees the implementation of the Angolan peace accord, is having difficulties in resuming its operations because of serious differences between the ruling MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] party and the UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] movement.

The report says the MPLA and UNITA have not yet reached consensus on the best way to resolve the deadlock which came about after a UNITA soldier shot dead an MPLA officer three weeks ago.

The report said the latest meeting of the commission was canceled while international observers walked out and refused to address local reporters on the reasons for the cancellation.

Senior Angolan officials, however, said this was due to a lack of electricity in the venue hall. No date for a future meeting was decided. The officials pointed out that even though the commission had not held a meeting for two weeks, other subcommissions were continuing to pass on the implementation of the Angolan peace accord.

### **Mozambique**

#### **Guebuza: Ninth Round of Peace Talks Postponed**

*MB0912205791 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network  
in Portuguese 1900 GMT 9 Dec 91*

[Text] Minister Armando Guebuza, minister of transportation and communications and head of the government delegation to the Rome peace talks, confirmed this evening that the ninth round of talks scheduled to begin on 10 December has been postponed. Speaking in a telephone interview, Armando Guebuza said that no date has been set for the start of the ninth round of talks.

Guebuza said that the Mozambique National Resistance has claimed that it cannot travel to Rome because of technical and logistical reasons.

#### **Sixty-One Die in Renamo Attack on Angoche**

*MB0812141291 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network  
in Portuguese 1730 GMT 7 Dec 91*

[Excerpts] Reports from Nampula Province say that 61 people died on 3 December in an attack by the Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo] on the coastal city of Angoche. Firearms and bladed weapons were used to kill 42 of those people; the remaining 19 drowned in the local bay where they had taken refuge. Renamo's attack on Angoche began at 0410 and lasted until after 0800. The Renamo elements are believed to have entered that city by the road from the local airport.



There are strong indications that the attack was possible because Mozambique Armed Forces (FAM) units stationed in the area did not attempt to stop the Renamo elements. It has been alleged that the government troops' decision not to intervene due to logistical problems that they face. [passage omitted]

In the attack, 232 houses were burned. Two trucks, one of which was carrying eight tonnes of cashews, were also burned. Four shops, a hotel hall, and several houses were ransacked. Documents, doors, and filing cabinets belonging to the Water and Construction Provincial Directorate, and the Mozambique Caju enterprise were destroyed. The losses have been estimated at 500,000 contos.

The residents, using stones and clubs, chased the attackers, capturing 16 of them. Ten of these were killed in the Inguri, Cholar, and Serema wards.

After Renamo elements withdrew from Angoche city, FAM units clashed with them near the city. Four Renamo elements were killed and 16 others captured. [passage omitted]

### **Zambia**

#### **Further on Car Accident Involving Vice President**

##### **Other Driver Consumed Alcohol; Detained**

*MB0912183891 Lusaka Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1800 GMT 9 Dec 91*

[Text] Police investigations into the accident involving Vice President Levy Mwanawasa have revealed that the driver of the vehicle that collided with Mr. Mwanawasa had alcohol content above normal in his blood. Police public relations officer Peter Chingaape also said that Goodwill Chirwa was armed at the time of the accident, and police are investigating whether he was authorized to carry the weapon.

According to Mr. Chingaape, Chirwa will appear in court soon charged with causing death by dangerous driving

and was still in police custody. He also said the police would investigate why the vice president's motorcade had no escort car in front.

##### **No Evidence of Foul Play**

*MB0912211091 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1943 GMT 9 Dec 91*

[Text] Harare Dec 9 SAPA—There was no evidence to suggest any foul play behind the weekend traffic accident in Lusaka in which Zambia's vice-president, Mr Levy Mwanawasa, was seriously injured.

This was said on Monday by Zambia's foreign minister, Mr Vernon Mwaanga, in an interview with ZIANA news agency in Harare while accompanying Zambia's new president, Mr Frederick Chiluba, on an official one-day visit to Zimbabwe.

Mr Mwaanga said there was no evidence of foul play at the moment, and that the Zambian authorities were treating it as an accident.

Zambia's foreign minister said Mr Mwanawasa had been flown to a hospital in Johannesburg, South Africa, for treatment, and that his condition had been described by his doctors as stable.

According to SAPA's earlier report filed from Lusaka, Mr Mwanawasa had fractured three left ribs and an arm.

Mr Mwanawasa was critically injured on Sunday morning when Sgt Chirwa, a former bodyguard of the previous Zambian president, Dr Kenneth Kaunda, had crashed his vehicle into an official motorcade which was travelling to the Lusaka International Airport.

ZIANA reported that Sgt Chirwa was detained by police and under interrogation at Lusaka's Kabwata Police Station.

Police were reportedly interested to know why Sgt Chirwa had not pulled off the road on the approach of the official motorcade, which apparently was a requirement under Zambian law.

## **Burkina Faso**

### **Opposition Party Leader Killed in Explosion**

AB1012090091 Libreville Africa No. 1 in French  
0730 GMT 10 Dec 91

[Text] Inhabitants of Ouagadougou are still in shock from the attack that led to the death of Clement Ouedraogo, an opposition leader and former number three man of the regime. From the scene, Rodrigue Asseyi reports:

[Asseyi] Clement Ouedraogo, president of the opposition Burkinabe Labor Party, has died from an explosion. His vehicle, which had stopped at a traffic light, was blown up by an explosive device. His wife was also thrown outside. This morning, her life is out of danger. Clement Ouedraogo was unlucky; his body lay for several hours on the road, blocking all traffic movement. This man was the number three man in the regime only a few months ago. During a recent rally of the Coordination of Democratic Forces, he said President Compaore was elected by only one Burkinabe out of five. These statements certainly did not fall on deaf ears.

Meanwhile, Tall Moctar, a man close to the government, yesterday evening also escaped an attack. According to the man in the street, revenge attacks have started in Burkina Faso. Opposition party leaders were still in shock when being questioned, and there has been no reaction from the government, at least for the time being.

### **Oppositionist Tall Moctar Wounded**

AB1012105591 Paris AFP in English 1049 GMT  
10 Dec 91

[Text] Ouagadougou, Dec 10 (AFP)—Tall Moctar, a Burkinabe opposition leader, was badly wounded in an assassination bid overnight Monday, hospital sources said here Tuesday.

Moctar, a leader of the Group of Revolutionary Democrats (GDR), had previously been reported killed by one or more unidentified gunmen, in his car on the outskirts of the capital.

Another opposition leader, Clement Ouedraogo, was killed overnight when a bomb was hurled at his car, an opposition spokesman said Tuesday.

## **The Gambia**

### **President Jawara Not To Run in 1992 Elections**

AB0612105691 London BBC World Service in English  
1515 GMT 5 Dec 91

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] The Gambia's ruling People's Progressive Party has been holding its fifth general congress in Mansa Konko, 180 km north of Banjul. It closed last night and

President Jawara himself ended it by dropping a bombshell. Babakar Gaye telexed this report from Banjul.

The president disclosed that he would not be contesting the presidential elections due to be held by the end of May next year. The announcement came as a shock to many party militants that reacted to the decision by shouting: No, we still want you. The president was adamant, however, maintaining that he only wanted to remain as secretary general and party leader, a position to which he was reelected yesterday.

No reason was given for his decision, but after being in power for 26 years he must have thought that it was time to go. The People's Progressive Party has the task of deciding who will be running for the president in the place of Jawara. One likely candidate could be Mr. Bakary Darbo, the vice president since 1982. However, other candidates may emerge from the senior levels of the party.

President Jawara was elected party leader in 1959 of what was then Protectorate People's Party. He has led The Gambia since it gained independence in 1965, first as prime minister and then as president. An attempt to topple him in 1981 failed when it was crushed with the help of Senegalese troops.

## **Liberia**

### **ECOMOG Commander on Disarmament, Encampment**

AB1012133591 Monrovia Radio ELBC in English  
0900 GMT 9 Dec 91

[Text] The field commander of ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group], Major General Ishaya Bakut, has expressed optimism that the encampment and disarmament of the former warring factions in Liberia would be completed on schedule. He said the exercise was well on course, and that the West African peace monitoring group was moving gradually in carrying out its mandate within 60 days. The exercise began on November 15. Maj. Gen. Bakut was speaking over the weekend in Monrovia, when he addressed the third Charles Gbenyon memorial lectures. The lectures are organized by the Liberia Broadcasting System.

The 44-year-old Nigerian general said ECOMOG, under his command, is doing everything possible to ensure that the exercise is successfully carried out within the stipulated time. Gen. Bakut spoke of the numerous meetings between ECOMOG and the former warring factions as well as discussions with the Sierra Leonean delegation, which recently arrived in the country, to hold talks with him and the interim government. The ECOMOG field commander, however, appealed to all Liberians to cooperate with the peace monitoring group in executing its mandate.

Meanwhile, the ECOMOG field commander has said that the reported rebel incursion into Sierra Leone will not stop the current peace process. He said that though it may slow down the process, ECOMOG would do everything possible to help Liberia achieve lasting peace. The ECOMOG field commander said concrete efforts were being applied by ECOMOG to create a buffer zone along the Liberian-Sierra Leonean border and spoke of the cooperation of the Sierra Leonean Government and the National Patriotic Front of Liberia in this direction. He, however, pointed out that the West African peace monitoring group will, as he put it, not shoot one gun in Liberia until it is permitted to do so. Gen. Bakut then urged Liberian journalists to play a leading role in the Liberian peace process by promoting the process in a positive way.

### Niger

#### HCR Statement Condemns 'Putschists' in Togo

AB0512222691 Niamey Voix du Sahel Network  
in French 1200 GMT 5 Dec 91

[Statement issued by the Niger High Council of the Republic, HCR, in Niamey on 5 December on the situation in Togo—read by HCR Secretary General (Sabo Seydou); recorded]

[Text] Forces hostile to change are subjecting authorities and institutions set up by the Togolese national conference to threats and blackmail; (?radically) against the choice and decisions of the Togolese national conference, aimed at putting into question the transition program, undermining the basis of a genuine democracy, and seeking to restore the arbitrary and injustice for a few forces loyal to them. These acts of the backward forces against democracy and the republican legitimacy constitute serious risks for Togo and the subregion.

The HCR, charged with monitoring and controlling decisions of the sovereign national conference of Niger, in solidarity with the ongoing democratic process in Africa, strongly condemns the putschists of Togo; denounce their accomplices both in the country and outside; and support the Togolese HCR, other transitional organs, and the democratic forces against the return of the nostalgics of the arbitrary and unjust. It calls on the transitional organs and the Nigerois to demonstrate their solidarity with the Togolese people.

The HCR calls on the West African Economic Community, the Economic Community of West African States, and the OAU to work toward preserving the democratic process and restore the republican legitimacy emanating from the national conference of Togo.

#### Council of Ministers Appoints New Army Chief

AB0612095091 Niamey Voix du Sahel Network  
in French 0545 GMT 1 Dec 91

[Summary] The Cabinet met yesterday to examine and adopt decrees on appointments. In this regard, Major Mamadou Issa was appointed chief of staff of the Niger Armed Forces.

### Nigeria

#### Katsina Governor Dissolves Board of Trustees

AB0512222291 Paris AFP in English 1606 GMT  
5 Dec 91

[Text] Lagos, Dec 5 (AFP) - A board of trustees to manage state development funds, headed by a former Nigerian military head of state, Major General Muhammadu Buhari, has been dissolved by the state military governor, press reports said here Thursday [5 December].

The 17-member board was established last February to manage 70 million naira (7 million dollars) funds for running the Katsina state government.

Some other sacked members of the board, who are prominent Muslims from Katsina state, are former number two man in government, General Shehu Musa Yar'Adua, currently held for illegally participating in politics, ex-head of the Nigerian army, Major General Usman Katsina, and chief justice of the federation, Mohammed Bello, reports said.

The dissolution of the board by Colonel John Madaki, a Christian, was the culmination of sharp disagreements between Buhari and the governor over the modalities for disbursing funds, the reports said.

The governor has asked for 20 million naira (2 million dollars) to implement a health and educational project but his request was rejected by Buhari's board, the reports added.

The governor, who said his government had passed a vote of no confidence in the board, said in an official statement that its accounts have been frozen. He told journalists Wednesday that he took the action after the former head of state failed to honour 11 invitations to discuss the board's activities.

Buhari's sacking could also be connected with his criticism of the present military government, observers noted. Buhari, overthrown in December 1983, in a bloodless military coup, last June expressed his doubts in an interview about the sincerity of President Ibrahim Babangida in implementing the transition to civil rule programme.



**Kano State Forms 'Special Court' To Try Rioters**

*AB0612063091 Lagos Radio Nigeria Network  
in English 1500 GMT 5 Dec 91*

[Text] The Kano State Government has established a special court to try all those arrested during last October religious riots in the state. An official said that the court, to be presided over by Justice Umaru Alkhali, will commence sitting immediately.

The court is expected to try persons accused of looting and arson during the unfortunate riots, while other offenders are to be tried by two magistrates. The statement added that the magistrates were being appointed to speed up the trial and dispose off all the cases before the end the tenure of the present administration in December.

During the riots, which was as a result of protests against a banned crusade by a German Christian evangelist, many people were killed while property worth millions of naira were either destroyed or looted.

**Former Minister, Ex-Governor 'Placed in Custody'**

*AB0612124691 Paris AFP in English 1131 GMT  
6 Dec 91*

[Text] Lagos, Dec 6 (AFP)—Two more prominent Nigerian politicians have been placed in custody, joining 11 others detained until after state gubernatorial elections, for allegedly flouting a ban barring them from taking part in politics.

Former minister of steel development, Paul Unongo, and ex-civilian governor of northern Kaduna state, Lawal Kaita were ordered to be held under "some reasonable comfort" until January 16.

Each of these 13 "banned" politicians, including general Shehu Musa Yar'Adua, the nation's number two man in the military regime of Olusegun Obasanjo (1976-79), were accused of either sponsoring a political aspirant or a political party, in contravention of the law which banned them from participating in politics.

A decree promulgated in 1989 banned all former political office holders from participating in partisan politics

overtly or covertly until the end of the transition period back to civilian rule next year.

Some other politicians convicted of corruption or any grave crime were banned for life from participating in politics.

The 13 politicians will be released a few days after the inauguration of new state governors, to be elected on December 14.

**Former Minister Says Parties 'Assault on Democracy'**

*AB1012063591 Paris AFP in English 1003 GMT  
9 Dec 91*

[Text] Lagos, Dec 9 (AFP)—A former Nigerian minister of information, Chief Anthony Enahoro, has described the imposition of two political parties on the nation was "an assault on democracy".

After dissolving the 13 political associations formed when the ban on politics was lifted, the military regime of President Ibrahim Babangida in October 1989 announced the creation of two "grassroot" political parties—the Social Democratic Party (SDP - progressive) and the National Republican Convention (NRC - conservative).

"I find nothing indigenous in the military marshalling the populace into two political parties when it is well known that the very concept of democracy is antithetical to such regimentation", Enahoro, 68, said in a speech here Sunday.

The democratic revolution sweeping across the world is based on free democratic pluralism and "it is specious reasoning to describe the regimented dualism imposed on our people as democracy" said Enahoro, information minister under the military regime of general Yakubu Gowon.

He said democracy implied freedom of choice, argument, debate, proposal, association and persuasion, arguing that "a Nigerian kind of democracy which is deficient in these respects does not deserve to be called a democracy."

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